

AN
ESSAY
ON
MARITIME POWER

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AND
COMMERCE;
Particularly those of FRANCE.

IN
An EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE,

Address'd to

The COUNT *de Maurepas*,
Secretary of STATE, and of the MARINE.

BY

Bonnet Deslandes

M. DESLANDES.

R

*Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patriâ timidas perire.*

HOR. Carm. I. 4.

*Pompeii omne consilium Themistocleum est, Existimat
enim, qui Mare teneat, cum necesse rerum potiri.*

CIC. ad Atticum Epist. lib. 10.

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P R E F A C E

BY THE

T R A N S L A T O R .



HERE are few Books that have appeared in the French Language of late Years, which have better deserved to appear likewise in ours than this, which I present to the Reader. As this is the common Sentiment of most Translators, I shall make it the Business of this Preface to shew, that my Opinion is not ill-founded, and that the Reader may justly expect somewhat extraordinary in the following Pages, by giving him a short Account first of the Author, and then of the Book itself.

M. Deslandes, from whose Pen this Treatise fell, is a Person who holds a considerable Rank in the Republick of Letters. He has been the Author of abundance of Pieces, written in a free and lively Stile, on very nice and curious Subjects, which have been extremely well received; but as he never thought fit to own them, I do not think it fit for me to mention them more particularly. His perfect Acquaintance with Maritime Affairs, raised him to the Superintendence of one of the principal Ports in France. Since he has been in this Post, he has very wisely and honestly dedicated his Time and his Parts to those Studies, which were likely to be most useful to him in the Discharge of his Duty, of which the World has had notice, by the several curious Treatises he has composed (and acknowledged) on Winds, on the Salmon Fishery, &c. and of which Posterity will probably receive still greater Proofs from his History of the Maritime Power of France, which he has promised in this Work.

He was encouraged to write this Essay by the Count de Maurepas, who has at this Time the Care of the Marine, of whom Mr. Van Hoey has given a great Character in his Letters, and who deserves yet a greater, since, without question, he is the ablest Minister this Day in France. The Design in writing it is pretty evident, that Minister has been long endeavouring

deavouring to inspire the Councils of that Country with an ardent Passion of retrieving the Naval Power of France, and setting it once again on the Foot upon which it stood in the Reign of Lewis XIV. In order to bring this to bear, the Count de Maurepas has, from time to time, caused several Treatises to be written and published on Navigation and Commerce, in such a Method as was most likely to stimulate the Pride, and excite the Jealousy of the French Nation.

This Work of M. Deslandes seems to be the Minister's last Effort, both from the Matter of the Work itself, which is systematical, and comprehends, in a very narrow Compass, the Substance of what had been published before by Piece-meal, and from the manner in which it has been sent into the World, wherein we may discover all the Arts of the Minister, to recommend what he took to be the utmost Stretch of his Author's Abilities. In the first place, the Book was printed at Geneva, for which the great Liberties that are taken in it, with regard both to Subjects and Persons, afforded a very plausible Pretence, as the very Printing it there strongly recommended it to the Perusal of all the curious People in France. But the Count de Maurepas would not trust to this, the great Desire he had to put this Treatise into the Hands of all the World, induced him to take a Step still more extraordinary.

In

In short, though he could not prevent an Order of Council for suppressing it, almost as soon as the first Impression was distributed in Paris; yet, as he knew this would raise a great Curiosity in the Publick, and excite a mighty Demand for the Book, he directed a new Edition of it to be privately printed, which will be certainly taken off in a little time.

This is the History of the Author and his Book, which will now appear in its true Light to the English Reader, viz. As a Ministerial Treatise of Naval Power, intended to convince all who have the Honour to enter the Cabinet Council of France, of the absolute Necessity of attending to the Marine, especially at this Juncture, and in order to justify any extraordinary Measures that might be taken to establish such a Marine, one of which immediately followed the Publication of this Book; I mean, the taking, for the French King's Service, all the East-India Ships of Force, except eight, which, by the Dash of a Pen, acquired him five twenty-gun Ships, six of sixty, and four of seventy Guns, which shews what Impression, I will not say this Book, but the Advices of its Patron, have already made French Administration.

Let us come now to the Essay itself. We shall find it, in respect to Method, Matter and Stile, a curious, entertaining, and useful Treatise,

tise, as well as an artful, ingenious, and well adjusted Contrivance, for executing the Political Design which gave it Birth. The Author has display'd his Wit, his Learning, and his great Knowledge of the Subject of which he treats, all in their proper Places; and if one was to recommend a succinct Abridgment of Naval History, I know none that would answer the End so well as this. He gives a just and fair History of the Trade of the Ancients in a very narrow Compass, and in so masterly a Way, as to give a much better Notion of it, than those Writers who have treated this Subject more diffusively. Indeed, if we set aside the Political Scheme of its Author, this ought to be considered as one of the most shining Parts of his Book; for it is not easy to conceive, how, in so short a Space, he should, in a manner, exhaust so fruitful a Topick, and, at the same time, give it all the Graces of Stile and Method that could be expected or wished for. But if we take his political End into this View, we shall behold his History of ancient Commerce in a still better Light; for it is certain, that, how much soever he was Master of his Subject, he would never have treated it so largely here, if, in his manner of treating it, he had not more warmly and more effectually recommended the Maxim he meant principally to establish, than he could have done any other Way. This Maxim is plainly, that a superior Naval
Force

Force is absolutely necessary to Universal Monarchy, which he demonstrates in the most sensible manner, from the Examples of all the Universal Monarchies that have ever subsisted; and, to speak the Truth, inculcating, explaining, or defending this Maxim, is the perpetual Business of the Author throughout his whole Essay. This Reflection alone shews how worthy the Book is of being translated, and of falling under the Notice and Consideration of every Briton.

One sees, from the Management of this Author, how the most crabbed Subjects may be illustrated and render'd agreeable. By a judicious Mixture of modern with antient History, he keeps the Mind in continual Action, and never suffers the Reader's Attention to languish. He introduces, very judiciously, Quotations from their best Writers, which, in the first place, enables him to insinuate much stronger things than he could otherwise have said himself; and in the next, they give a Sanction to his Reflection: by shewing, that his Opinions are the same with those of the greatest Men France has produced. In running through the Naval History of France, his Method renders every Period alike instructive. The Weakness of France, when described by him, serves the Purpose of his Book more effectually, than a Prospect of France in all her Glory would have done; and it is easy
to

to discern, that the *Vivacity*, with which these Scenes are painted, is an *Art* of applying properly to the *Passions* of his Readers, who are naturally more moved by warm Descriptions, than nervous Arguments.

But how much soever this Book is calculated for the Use of the French, yet I will venture to affirm, that it may be rendered of equal Benefit to an English Reader. In the first place, the Principles of Naval Power, the Advantages of Commerce, and the Duty of a Government, to protect and encourage these, belong alike to all Nations, and we are as capable of making use of them, nay, I hope, more capable than those to whom they are addressed. There is one Thing, of which, indeed, English Readers should be put in mind, and that is, not to be led away with the Praises bestowed upon their Nation by this Writer, or to confide too much in the Accounts he gives of their Maritime Force, and of their Wisdom in conducting their Colonies. These are not to be considered as genuine and candid Representations, flowing from the real Sentiments of the Author, but as artificial Colourings, necessary to raise the Jealousy of those to whom he writes, and making them thereby more keen for our Destruction. When the old Roman Senator produced the Fruits that came from the Neighbourhood of Carthage, it was not so much to magnify the Soil where they grew, as to warm his Countrymen into a Desire of subduing
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the Inhabitants of the Region that produced them.

There is a good deal of Exaggeration likewise in his Detail of the Advantages which France has, of nourishing and supporting a Naval Power, but then we ought to consider, nothing could serve his Purpose more, than to represent, as a Thing easy in itself, that Enterprize which he would persuade his Nation to undertake, and we are, in this respect, much obliged to him for pointing out the Advantages that the French really have, and the ill Luck we have experienced in attempting Descents upon their Coasts. One Thing, however, I must remark upon this Head, that, in reality, they were more obliged to our ill Conduct, in those unfortunate Expeditions, than to their own Strength. We have been always divided at home when we made War abroad, and the Treachery of our own People more fatal to us than the Force of our Enemies. An Unwillingness to support the Pride of an arrogant Favourite, ruined the Expedition to the Isle of Rhé, our Councils were constantly betray'd during the Reign of King William, and General Talmash very well knew, when he landed his Men, that he led them to the Slaughter.

The greatest Advantage, however, that can result from the reading this Book, is the gaining a just Notion of the present Designs of France,

France, and a better Opportunity, in this respect, can never present itself. Here we see, that the most powerful of our Neighbours; the most restless and ambitious Nation in Europe, our natural, our implacable Enemies, have discovered the true Source of our Strength, and have nothing so much in View as to wrest it from us. This Treatise shews us plainly, that the wisest Heads in France think it her Interest to ravish from us our Trade, and to establish, if possible, a Naval Power, equal or superior to others. This ought, therefore, to put us upon our Guard, this ought to engage us to make use, in time, of those Advantages, which, by the Favour of Providence, we at present possess, and if ever it should come to pass, that such a Spirit as this Author labours to excite, should prevail in France, at the same time that it grew languid here, nothing could possibly prevent the French Monarch from attaining that Superiority at which he aims, by completing our Ruin.

If, by exposing this Design in its true Light, I can any way contribute to the inspiring my Countrymen with a generous Resolution to support their Trade, to maintain their Reputation in Maritime Affairs, and defeat the ambitious and tyrannical Views of this haughty Neighbour, who avows a Design of attaining such an Authority as must be fatal to our Liberty and Prosperity, my End is fully answered;

fewer; but whether I am so fortunate or not, it will be some Consolation to me, that I have done my Duty, that I have shewn the Danger we are in, the Causes of that Danger, and the Remedies which ought to be applied, and which are no other than these, the Demolition of Dunkirk, and the Destruction of the French Power at Sea.



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AN
ESSAY
ON
MARITIME POWER,
AND ON
COMMERCE.
TO
Monsieur le C. de B. C. M.



IT were to be wish'd, Sir,
that we had an exact and
circumstantial History of
our Marine, a History in
which Facts were reported
at large. Such a History
would have two signal Advantages; the
one, giving the World an Account of a
B Military

Military Corps, the Capacity, Courage, Hardiness, and Gallant Actions of which, have done infinite Honour to the Nation; the other, making it evident to those at the Helm, how necessary a Naval Force is to so great a Kingdom as *France*, powerful in herself, but surrounded by Neighbours Haughty and Jealous of her Glory, to a Kingdom, I say, situated in a manner the most advantageous for procuring the Commerce of the Universe.

In looking on Maritime Power in this point of light, I cannot help telling you, Sir, That it is the Pillar, the Support of the State, and that when it shall be numerous, and under a proper Regulation, it will be able to give Law to all the Maritime Powers in *Europe*, the State itself will be secure, and have nothing to fear. Permit me, in order to make you apprehend my Thoughts, to make use of the strong Expressions of *The free and true Discourse to Henry IV.* “ The Magnanimity, *says he*, the Generosity of a great King, is not discovered solely in War, or in the Front of a fierce Battle animating his Nobility, his Hat covered with Plumes, in order to make him the fairer Mark to his Enemies, defying their Rage, and that Forest of Lances about to thunder upon him, but it appears

“ pears still more in his Deliberations on
 “ the great and important Affairs of his
 “ Kingdom, and such as respect its Secu-
 “ rity. Prudence ought then to shine,
 “ but all Fear ought to be banished—
 “ it is unworthy of you —— behold, Sir,
 “ what is just, what is useful to you, to
 “ your Posterity, to your Kingdom——
 “ having nothing else in view.”

All these Advantages we may expect from Maritime Power, but it is necessary, Sir, that its History should be composed by a Man of the Trade, one who has a Spirit and just Notions of Things, not by a Priest * or a Monk, People who commonly speak the Language of such as employ them, or are altogether under the Influence of Passions base and low. This History ought farther to be written with an exact regard to Truth, relating, without Artifice, and without Partiality, the good and bad Actions of such principal Officers as have commanded Squadrons

B 2

or

* Father DANIEL has spoken somewhat of the Marine at the End of his *Treatise of the French Militia*, but nothing can be more superficial, than what he says about it. Father FOURNIER gives also, in the *fifth* Book of his *Hydrography*, some Memoirs of our Naval Power, which are however extremely loose and indigested. A Capuchin has written a History of *Rochefort*. Such a History! *Dii magni! horribilem & sacrum Libellum!*

or Fleets, applauding such as acquitted themselves gallantly, and blaming those who have either wanted Capacity, or who have failed in their Designs through Cowardice, in order to excite our young Nobility to serve their Country usefully, and to spend their Blood chearfully for her Good.

In the mean time, Sir, till a History thus written shall appear, (for I dare not hope, that one which I have by me, pretty far advanced, will be so happy as to answer this End) I have the Honour to send you *An Essay on Maritime Power, and on Commerce*. All that I advance, all that I propose, is founded on my own proper Experience, or borrowed from a small Number of Authors, in whom you will easily distinguish Genius and Penetration, Qualities of which I should make little Account, if I did not find them joined to what is so rare, a sincere Love of Truth, and what is yet more rare, a Faculty of speaking it freely.

After these Authors, most of them Statesmen, I advance the four following Propositions, and employ in proving of them sometimes a Series of Arguments, sometimes Facts from History, intermingled now and then with Panegyrick, or with Censure properly applied. This last kind
of

of Proof has something in it more brisk and striking than the others.

My first Proposition is, That all the Nations of Antiquity that were desirous of raising a universal Reputation, and to distinguish themselves above others, have cultivated a Maritime Force, and the more they have cultivated it, the greater Power and Authority they acquired. Amongst the *Greeks* THEMISTOCLES, and POMPEY amongst the *Romans*, said loudly, that whoever would command on the Continent, must begin by gaining the Command of the Sea.

I propose, secondly, to shew, That from the Beginning of this Monarchy, we have always understood in *France* the Utility of a Maritime Power, not only under the more politick Reigns, but even in the midst of those Revolutions with which it has been some times shaken, that our greatest Kings have sought to establish it, and that the most Judicious of our Ministers have likewise bent all their Study, all their Industry that way, but divers Obstacles have from time to time risen and prevented their Councils taking Effect. The Honour of establishing a Maritime Power, seems to have been due to Cardinal *Richlieu*, as the perfecting of it was to *Lewis XIV.* seconded by the great
COL-

COLBERT † whom Sciences, Arts, Geni-
 us and Manufactures acknowledge for
 their Creator.

My third Proposition is That of all the
 Kingdoms of *Europe*, *France* is that which
 has the greatest Resources and possesses
 more Advantages than any other for ren-
 dering a Maritime Power flourishing; and
 that it is likewise that Kingdom, which
 of all the rest, stands most in need of
 such a Force on Account of the large Ex-
 tent of its Coasts, and its many Ports and
 Havens. * “ It is one of my old Grievs,
 “ says

† “ *John Baptist COLBERT*, born in 1625.
 “ He was the Son of a Wine-Merchant at *Rheims*,
 “ in *Champagne*, and rose to be Controller-Gener-
 “ al of the Finances under *Lewis XIV.* who
 “ knew how to distinguish Merit and Reward it.
 “ *M. Colbert*, was equally able and fortunate, he
 “ had a prodigious Genius, and to vast natural
 “ Parts added indefatigable Application. The
 “ Discharge of his Duty, the Good of *France*,
 “ the Glory of his Master were all the Objects of
 “ his Attention; and the Toil he underwent joined
 “ to his Emulation of the famous *Marquis de Lou-*
 “ *vois*, is said to have occasioned his Death, on the
 “ 6th of *September*, 1683, at the Age of 58.

* “ *Arnold d' OSSAT*, born at the Village of
 “ *Cassagnabere*, in the Diocess of *Auch*, on the
 “ 23d of *August*, 1536. His Father was so poor
 “ that it was never certainly known who, or what
 “ he was; but the general Tradition of the
 “ Country is, that he was a Farrier. A Gentle-
 “ man in the Neighbourhood took the young *Arnold*
 “ *d' OSSAT* into his Protection, and sent him to
 “ study

“ *says the Great Cardinal d’ Ossat,*
 “ and one of the most notorious and
 “ shameful Failings in the first Kingdom
 “ of *Christendom*, flank’d by two Seas,
 “ and seated by Nature in the fairest and
 “ most advantageous Part of *Europe*, for
 “ executing, assisting or thwarting all
 “ great Enterprizes, either by Sea or
 “ Land; it is, I say, one of my old
 “ Grievs to see that this Kingdom is want-
 “ ing to herself.”

“ The

“ study with his Nephew, whom he out-strip so
 “ fast in Learning, that at the End of three
 “ Years he became his Tutor. At first, he ap-
 “ plied himself to the Law, but M. *de Foix* carry-
 “ ing him to *Rome*, in the Year 1574, and again in
 “ 1580, he embraced the Profession of a Church-
 “ man, and became Secretary of the Ambassy;
 “ in which Post he continued till he became Bi-
 “ shop of *Rennes*, in 1596; and in 1598, the Af-
 “ fairs of *France* were devolved upon him. In 1599
 “ he became Cardinal by the Promotion of *Cle-*
 “ *ment VIII.* who did it however with Reluc-
 “ tance on Account of the Meanness of his Birth.
 “ He died *May 13, 1604*, in the 68th Year of
 “ his Age, with a very singular Character; for
 “ with all the high Qualities of Mind worthy of his
 “ Fortune, he retained a Modesty becoming his
 “ first Condition, and united in himself the most
 “ opposite kinds of Praise; being esteemed, at
 “ once, the greatest Politician, and the most
 “ upright Man of his Time. His Letters have been
 “ always regarded as a most valuable System of
 “ Policy. Our Author cites them frequently,
 “ and makes use of the best Edition; which is that
 “ of *Amsterdam*, in 5 Vol. in 12mo.”

The last of my Propositions is, That Maritime Power supported by the Royal Authority should serve to protect Commerce, to extend it, to gain it every Day fresh Acquisitions, and that Commerce should serve to introduce Abundance, and by spreading Riches through the whole Kingdom render it as powerful as it is possible it should be. “ Never, says “ † *Maximilian de Bethune*, Duke of SUL-
 “ LY, never shall the Kings of *France*,
 “ supported by the brave and warlike Peo-
 “ ple, whom God has subjected to their
 Au-

† “ This famous Minister was the great Favou-
 “ rite, as well as the great Support of *Henry IV.*
 “ of *France*, and is the same, who is generally
 “ distinguished in his History, by the Title of
 “ the Marquis *de Rhosny*. Never any Man pos-
 “ sessed the Confidence of a Prince more fully
 “ than he, and perhaps there never lived a Man, who
 “ better deserved it. The Glory of the King, by
 “ which he understood, the Good of his Subjects
 “ was the sole Object of his Administration, and
 “ all Regard to Grandees, to Princes of the
 “ Blood, to Mistresses, and even to the Queen
 “ herself fell before it ; and for this Reason, very
 “ soon after his Master’s Death, the Queen laid
 “ him aside, as not being able to endure the free
 “ Language of a Minister, who could as little
 “ bear to see bad things done, as to do them. He
 “ left behind him a Book on the Government of
 “ *France*, worthy of his Capacity and of his In-
 “ tegrity. I can’t say he left an Example, be-
 “ cause I know none of the *French* Ministers, that
 “ have any way resembled him.”

" Authority, unless they place their prin-
 " cipal Delight in augmenting the Gran-
 " deur, Trade, Reputation and indisputed
 " Preheminence of the *French* Monarchy,
 " arrive without Difficulty at being sole
 " Arbiters of *Christendom*, and giving ab-
 " solutely Law to their Neighbours by
 " their Prudence and by their Alliances."

If in my endeavouring to prove these
 four Points there should escape me any
 very free, or perhaps too bold Expression,
 I hope, Sir, for your Pardon. The Love
 of my ^b Country is the sole Motive, that
 directs me; that Love which constituted
 the Character of the old *Romans*, and
 which finds no place in weak and super-
 stitious Minds. When a Person endea-
 voured to inflame *Henry IV.* against the
 Author of a Book, entitled, *A Descrip-
 tion of the Island of Hermophrodites,
 newly discovered, &c.* in which a great
 many private Transactions were laid open;
 that Prince answered him, *I make a Con-
 science of troubling any Man for speaking
 the Truth.* How happy would our Age
 be, if we faithfully followed this Maxim
 of *Henry IV!*

^b *Sunt domesticæ fortitudines, non inferiores milita-
 ribus. i. e. Domestic Fortitude is as much a Virtue
 as that which is displayed in Military Affairs. Cic.
 Offic. lib. I.*



T H E
F I R S T P A R T.

WE ought to refer the Origin and Rudiments of Navigation to the *Egyptians*, and to the *Pbaenicians*. The former puffed up with the natural Riches of a Country of vast Extent, fierce through their Courage and their Address in the Management of Arms, governed by Kings, who were all of them either Heroes or Legislators, fought only to raise their Monarchy to the highest Degree of Perfection. They attentively examined such Things as were necessary to be established, but when they had once established and judged them useful, they never changed them through Caprice or Inconstancy. They also loved to indulge themselves in their Pleasures, and to taste Variety of foreign Delights; Delights however, in which they always mingled something singular and peculiar to themselves. The different Kingdoms they sub-

subdued in a very small Space of Time, the Number of Slaves they brought from all Parts, and a warm Ambition to immortalize themselves, all contributed to excite them to undertake Works that were extraordinary, and hence it is that those which placed the Ancients so far above the Moderns are all performed by them. The principal Commerce pursued by the *Egyptians*, and to which every Man might apply himself freely, was that of the *East* by way of the *Red Sea*. And as *Egypt* was intersected by an infinite Number of Canals, which at once rendered the Communication between their great Cities short and easy, all of them standing as it were on a Level, and, at the same time, made the Cultivation of their Country a Thing which cost very little Time and very little Expence; Advantages which supported and encouraged Commerce. By the former all kinds of Goods were secured from the Injuries that attend a long Passage, and from perishing; by the other they had a quicker and surer Vent because all the World took off a Part, and every Body was easily furnished.

There never was any Nation, who knew so well as the *Egyptians* how to make use of all the Advantages, and all

the Conveniences that are to be derived from a great River. They had every where cut Canals, which at the Time of its Inundation were filled by the *Nile*, and these Canals facilitated the Transportation of valuable Commodities, as well as such as were the Necessaries of Life. One might see every where flat-bottomed Vessels and Rafts which went even to the Quarries, and fetched thence Obelisks and other Works of Sculpture, which were wrought there. What heightens the Price of these Things, what renders them excessively dear is Land-Carriage, the Length and Difficulty of which frequently swallows up the intrinsic Value of the Things themselves. Of this we have continual Proofs in *France*, where the great Roads are so ill made, so badly kept up, so wretchedly repaired, partly through the Fault of the Engineers, who are entrusted with the Care of them, and partly through the Negligence of the Intendants of the Provinces, who do not look after them as they ought; and this, notwithstanding the vast Rates, and the many Working-days imposed on the neighbouring Villages, and other large Contributions on that Score, and which are apparently applied to other Purposes.

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If the *Chinese* are in Truth descended from the *Egyptians* as some learned Men, and, which weighs more with me, some Men of consummate Abilities have conjectured, then it must be owned that they are so far from falling short of their Ancestors that they in Truth exceed them very far. In effect, they have rendered, if I may so say, their whole Country navigable and easy of Access, by drawing Canals of Communication from one River to another, and contriving these Canals with such Industry, that there is scarce a Town, nay scarce a Village, which has not the Conveniency of Water-Carriage. We see farther upon these Rivers, a prodigious Number of People, active, frugal, taken up entirely with the Study of Commerce, and who very rarely go ashore; and as all these People have nothing but Boats of different Figures for their Estates, as well as their Habitations, it frequently happens that these Boats unite and form a kind of Hamlets, which the *Chinese* range with such Symmetry, that they call them with great Propriety, *Water-Towns*. By this means, if I may use the Expression, the whole Nation is in motion; they proceed in their Voyage, they avoid Idleness and Indolence, and they never find any thing
diffi-

difficult where either Profit or Honour is to be acquired. In like manner, the Government of *China* is the most perfect of any now in the World; the Wisest, the least Tyrannical, the most favourable to Merit, and to those Qualities of the Mind, that ought to shew themselves, in a Word, that which best contributes to maintain publick Order, and to secure the Tranquillity and Fortune of every Individual.

As to what concerns the *Phœnicians*, one has Reason to be surprized at the mighty Power, which they so rapidly acquired, when one considers that they possessed no more than a narrow Slip of the Coast of *Asia*, hemmed in by Nations so powerful, and so warlike, as to hinder them from ever extending themselves. But even this Circumstance heightens their Boldness, and their Desire of distinguishing themselves exciting them to seek on the Sea a new Empire, which they were to owe solely to their Courage. Full of these Ideas, they very wisely profited themselves of all the Ports, Harbours and Creekson their Coast, and repaid themselves with Usury for the narrow Bounds to which their Country was confined. This constant Application of theirs to whatever had a Relation to Maritime Power, made

made them pass amongst the Antients for the Inventors of Arithmetic and Astronomy, and which is more, for those who reduced Commerce into a fixed and judicious System, entirely purged from those Frauds and Artifices which debase and corrupt it, and this by exercising at the same time the Functions of Warriors and of Merchants.

The *Phœnicians* merit also further Commendation, for having undertaken long and dangerous Voyages, without receiving Assistance from the Lights of others, or being encouraged by any Examples. We can scarce conceive how great a Regard the Antients had for such bold and curious Persons, as by making frequent and distant Voyages, and by their Travels both by Sea and Land, introduced the Knowledge of a thousand rare and useful Inventions, by which they discovered, as it were, a new World. The fabulous History scruples not to represent them as descending into Hell, and ravishing from thence the Secrets of the infernal Deities. Such were the Relations which they circulated as to the Travels of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, Relations that all the great Poets have adopted, without knowing perhaps throughly what gave occasion to them. If the Moderns had fallen into the same
Taste

Taste for Fiction, what a mighty Field would they have had for vaunting of those who since the sixteenth Century have sailed into the most distant Seas, and have made the Tour of almost the whole World, such as *Ferdinand Magalhacus*, who we commonly call *Magellan*, *Sir Francis Drake*, *Sir Thomas Cavendish*, *Oliver Van Noorth*, in fine, *Sebastian Cano*, whom the Emperor *Charles the Fifth* recompenced in so singular a manner, by giving him for his Arms the Terrestrial Globe, with this Motto, *Primus me circumdediti*^c, that is, *thou first surrounded me?* These illustrious Navigators, might they not have been transform'd each into a *Bacchus*, or a *Hercules*, or, taken together, into *Argonauts* or *Tyndarides*.

It is probable that the forced Sojournment of the People of God amongst the *Egyptians*, inspired them with an Inclination towards Maritime Affairs, and that this

^c Some Criticks have remarked, that instead of *circumdediti*, it should have been *circumvisti*, or *circumnavigasti*; but this was a kind of Exactness unworthy of so great an Emperor. The Musician, whom *Alexander the Great* criticised, answered him smiling, *God forbid, Sir, that you should be a better Judge of these kind of things than I.*

“ The Reader may find the Memoirs of *Sir Francis Drake*, *Sir Thomas Cavendish*, and of *Sebastian Cabot*, in the first Volume of the *Lives of the Admirals*, where their Merits, especially as Seamen, are fully and clearly explained.”

this Inclination was heightened by the Neighbourhood of *Tyre* and *Phœnicia*. For Taste, and a strong Desire of succeeding, will always enable a Nation to transfer the useful Establishments of its Neighbours, and to draw from them those Advantages which before distinguished these from other People; and it is principally in this case that Jealousy appears to be laudable, and even to become a kind of Virtue. The Fleets of *Solomon*, which were sent to *Ophir* and *Tharfis*, brought from thence immense Riches, fine Furniture, Works of Ivory, and other Curiosities unknown in *Judea*, and above all a vast Quantity of Gold. Never any Prince, how powerful or how rich soever, amassed so great a Quantity of this precious Metal as *Solomon*, (one single Voyage having produced him four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold) or ever carried Magnificence to that height as it was under his Reign. It would be useless to enter here into a troublesome Detail of Criticisms as to the true Situation of *Ophir* and *Tharfis*. Some Moderns have imagined, that by these two Names the two Continents of *America*, which are united by the *Isthmus of Darien*, are distinguished, and that this King of *Israel* was the Precursor of *Christopher Columbus*. But this Opinion has nothing in it that so

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much

much resembles Truth, as to deserve a Confutation. As to the other Notions about it, they may be reduced to two.

The first is that of *M. Huet*, Bishop of *Avranches*, who in a long and laboured Discourse has endeavour'd to prove, that the Riches of *Solomon* came from the East Coast of *Afric*, and especially from the Country of *Soffala*, which abounds with Gold and Ivory. The other alledges, That we ought to go to the *Indies*, and there between the Peninsula's of the *Ganges*, we are to look for *Ophir* and *Tbarfis*; and that which gives this Notion the greatest Appearance of Truth is, that all prophane Authors agree, that there was not heretofore any Commerce more rich, or of greater Extent, than that of the *Indies*, either by the *Red Sea* and the States of *Babelmandel*, or by the Gulph of *Arabia*. There all the Merchandizes with which the Ships of *Solomon* returned laden, are to be found, and found in abundance, not only through the Nature and Fertility of the Country, but still more from the Generosity of the Inhabitants, who piqued themselves on prepossessing Strangers in their Favour, and to draw them thither by their obliging Civilities, as understanding perfectly well how to engage by a present Loss, future Advantages of more considerable Value.

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Whatever becomes of these Conjectures, the Fact sufficiently warrants me to observe what vast Advantages this Prince drew from Navigation, and how well he was apprized of the Consequences of enlarging and fortifying his Ports of *Elatb* and *Esfiongeber*, so happily seated on the *Red Sea*; and in fine, with what Dexterity and Address he produced in his Dominions such an Opulency as is inconceivable even at this day. All this was necessary for him, in order to perfect the Superb Buildings he had destined to the Service of Religion, to display all the Lights that Architecture had then acquired, and to furnish them with all the Ornaments that the Heads or Hands of Men could bestow.

The *East Indies*, Countries which, after *China*, are of all others the best peopled, were for a long time the Object of all the Voyages undertaken by the Antients, and the sole Commerce in which they engaged. Indeed, what Commerce can be more usefully exercised, than that which is in a manner equally profitable to the Buyers and the Sellers! All Nations vied with each other in going thither, in proportion to their Impatience, or the Talent they had for enriching themselves; and, as appears by *Arrian's Periplus of the Red Sea*, and by several Remarks of *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Philostratus*, no Rout was more known, or more frequented. Besides this, the *East Indies* abounded with

the most able and most industrious of all Traders, as in truth they do at this Day, as well for distinguishing the intrinsic Value of Gold and Silver, which they look upon rather as Merchandize than Money, as for making all kinds of Calculations almost with the cast of an Eye. However, this Commerce, so great and so distinguished, began to sink and decline by degrees, nay, it came at last to be quite extinguished, and it was the *Ptolomies*, who, from their Thirst of Glory and of Power, revived it again. The Merchants of *Alexandria* then made themselves Masters of it, and sent thither every Year considerable Fleets. These Merchants, who were Men of quick Wits, and whose Heads were fertile in Expedients, knew how to give a right Turn to every Circumstance, and to advantage themselves of every lucky Hit. The Opportunities of getting well managed, a quick Return, and easy Carriage, and numerous Correspondences, make, if I may so say, the Soul of Commerce in general, and especially of Maritime Commerce.

On the Ruins of the antient City of *Tyre*, and supported by the Instructions of the *Phœnicians*, *Carthage* was erected, that fierce Rival of *Rome*, which disputed with her so long the Empire of the World. Nothing could be more swift or rapid than the Rise of her Maritime Power, and that which is
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commonly its Consequence, Luxury and Insolence. Towards the End of the second *Punic War*, *Carthage* reckoned within her Walls no fewer than 700,000 Inhabitants, at the same time more than three hundred *African* Cities acknowledged her for their Metropolis. She had sent Colonies into *Spain*, into *Sicily*, into *Sardinia*, Colonies, such as became as numerous as powerful. Her Vessels every where respected, made daily new Conquests, and it is even believed they penetrated as far as *America*. If that Fact be certain, as some very able Men have thought it, it is very probable that the *Carthaginians* would not make any use of this Discovery, for fear their Subjects might have been tempted to have quitted their old Country for the new one, and the *Carthaginians* very well knew that the Extension of Power is very far from being a necessary Consequence of an Extension of Territory. But their Suspicion and refined Policy engaged them in a unanimous Resolution, not to communicate this Discovery of theirs to the rest of the World. It may be that the *Spaniards* would have very well found their Account, if they had followed so wise a Conduct, instead of acting as they do on the contrary Principle, which supposes that Extent of Power must always follow Extent of Dominion. They had not then, as now they visibly have, depopulated their Country, scattered

tered their Subjects^d, whose Security must always depend upon their Union; and in order to acquire an imaginary Oppulence, fallen there to digging of Mines, and searching out Metals with which Avarice can never be satisfied, while at the same time they neglect what Nature offers them of this kind at Home, and at a much easier Expence. Our old Lawyers had therefore reason to say, *That whoever acquires Country without Force, must be ruined, so long as the Country acquired does not afford him Men.*

The Utility of Navigation was too palpable and too striking, in respect to People of any Attention, long to escape the *Greeks*, that Nation so industrious, and who knew so well how to appropriate to themselves the Inventions of others, could not fail of aiming at the Dominion of the Sea. We know what a vast Number of Vessels *Greece* united and animated, by her common Desire of Vengeance, employed in the *Trojan War*, how powerful they then were by Sea and Land, how jealous of their Rights, and how
unable

^d It is an Observation of Importance that has been made in *Spain*, that before the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, a common Artificer or Porter could not get above Five-pence a Day, whereas he can now get thirty at least; and as Provisions are not grown dearer in any Proportion, it follows, that one Day's Work will keep a Man three or four, which is the grand Source of the Idleness of the lower sort of People, and in consequence of that of the general Poverty of *Spain*.

unable to bear even the slightest Injuries. *Homer*, without question, making use of the License of a Poet, has swelled and exaggerated things very much: This, however, is at least certain, that from their very Origin the *Greeks* built Vessels, and knew how to manage them. By degrees, as they increased, their Authority, as they grew stronger and better versed in the Art of Government, they applied themselves with much Ardour and Vivacity to whatever had any reference to Maritime Power. It was amongst them that universal Merit prevailed, and enabled them more than once to dissipate numerous Fleets, which o'erspread the Sea, and which flatter'd themselves they should be able to resist the Winds, and to keep the Waves under restraint. In vain the *Persian* wasted both his Men and Ships, he was continually repulsed in the most dishonourable manner, till at last *Cimon*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, after a signal Victory, imposed on the great King this hard Condition, *viz.* to abandon all the Seas navigated by the *Greeks*, and not to suffer his Subjects to approach their Coasts nearer than three Days sail. This was certainly carrying things with a high Hand, and talking in a very Magisterial Tone.

One may easily judge, so quick and enterprizing as the *Greeks* were, they omitted nothing to preserve a just Superiority on the Sea, a Superiority which so infinitely concerned

cerned them, and spread their Reputation into the most distant Climates. Men of their Disposition, so full of Self-Approbation, and so prejudiced in their own Favour, were more desirous of making themselves known, and of attaining Reputation, than they were of acquiring Subjects.

In the Age preceeding the Birth of *Alexander the Great*, *Athens* and *Sparta* were engaged in disputing with each other the Empire of the *Egean* and *Ionian* Seas. These two Rivals, so different in their Manners and Customs, the one remarkable for Politeness and Luxury, the other distinguished by the Severity of her Discipline; the former more capable of inspiring Love; but the latter, able to force Admiration, at every turn had recourse to Arms. After reciprocal Losses and Advantages, *Sparta* took one hundred and fourscore Ships from her Enemy, besieged her in form, and forced her to surrender at Discretion. *Athens* was humbled by this, but not absolutely destroyed; she, in her turn, repaid *Sparta* the same hard Measure she had received.

Philip, King of *Macedon*, whom his Brother had first sent as a Hostage into *Illyria*, and then to *Thebes*, and who was naturally vicious when he could discover it with Impunity, became virtuous when he saw it his Interest so to be. *Philip*, I say, distinguished all the Views and all the Projects of the
Greeks,

Greeks, and knew how to serve himself of them. Equally capable of forming a political Plan, and of executing it when formed, a Friend, when he found his Advantage in being so, an Enemy always impenetrable, and very often a false and dangerous Ally; from the very Beginning of his Reign, he made the utmost Efforts to establish a Maritime Force, which he intended to use with a high Hand; and when he could find no equitable Suggestion wherewith to colour his Enterprizes, he was wont to call Fraud and Diffimulation to his Aid. The first Pretence of which he served himself for displaying a Naval Force, was for repressing Pyrates, who were grown insolent through a long Series of successful Villanies, and of these he undertook to cleanse the *Egean* and *Ionian* Seas. But in a short time he began to exercise himself, that Trade, as shameful as lucrative, as unworthy of a great Prince, as it was proper to fill his Coffers; yet the Flatterers, who followed his Court, and studied his Motions, invented a thousand Reasons to prove it for his Honour. For Monarchs, on whom all things smile, and who are favoured by Fortune, never fail to have every thing they do approved. With them, what other Merit than acquiring their End? They confound perpetually Success with Justice.

Alexander the Great, who could not help being astonished himself at the Rapidity of

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his Victories, and who every where found new Subjects of Astonishment growing upon him daily, did not however forget, that, without a Maritime Power, without a fixed and settled Commerce, his Conquests must not only become useless, but ruinous; that he might indeed take the Title of Hero, but not of Sovereign, which implies a Person careful and attentive to procure all sorts of Advantages for those, who, by the Law of War, are rendered his Subjects. It was for this Reason, that, after having ruined *Tyre*, and made *Carthage* tremble, he founded *Alexandria*, to be the Seat of that vast Monarchy, which he had planned to serve as the common Staple for Commerce; and, if the Expression may be allowed me, to knit together the several Parts of the Universe. Nothing could be more beautiful, nothing could be more worthy so great a Soul, than the Choice and Foundation of *Alexandria*. This City was the most happily situated in the World, it embraced all things, and was capable of sending, with the greatest Ease, and with the least Risque, into all Parts of the Earth. But in the midst of all that Fortune could offer, either agreeable or glorious, *Alexander* died, with him all his Projects vanished into nothing, Projects too vast for whoever is not born to conquer and subdue the Universe.

He,

He, however, who, amongst his Captains, made himself Master of *Egypt*, being a Man curious in his Temper, and of an elevated Genius, favoured the Establishment of *Alexandria*, and granted her all the Right and Privileges she deserved. He opened again the Navigation of the *Indies*, which had been so long interrupted, and the Facility with which this was attended, with the tempting Hopes of Gain, drew to his Court all who thoroughly understood Trade, and all such as were well versed in Navigation. This ought not to astonish us. We see by many modern Examples, that as soon as Commerce is cherished in any Place, and exempted from arbitrary Taxes and ruinous Impositions, Strangers are sure to flock thither. They press there, as it were, one over the other^e to take part in the early Profits,

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and

^e When the Czar, *Peter* the First, laid the Foundation of his new City of *Petersburgh*, the Design was as bold, and he shewed therein no less Thirst of Glory than *Alexander*, for he resolved to carry that City to as high a Reputation as *Alexandria*, and therefore he drew thither by all the Methods he could devise, Men of Parts and Capacities fit for seconding his Design. Happily for his Memory, that his Successors have prosecuted the great and useful Undertakings he began.

“ This was indeed a stupendious Undertaking,
 “ and the Building of this City cost the Czar many
 “ Thousands of his Subjects; but what is peculiarly
 “ to his Honour, is the Penetration he shewed in
 “ this Establishment. It had been objected by some
 “ of

and to sow, if I durst use the Phrase, in fresh Ground; whereas the most certain Mark of a sinking Commerce, and the approaching Ruin of a Country is, when its Inhabitants are seen flying abroad, who would never abandon their Country, if the Arts were there recompenced, if the general Distribution of Things were properly maintained for the common Benefit of the whole, or in short, if they did not perceive Discredit to become universal. This first King of *Egypt*, that he might more and more encourage Commerce in his Dominions, and to prevent any other Nation from interfering therein, drew the Plan of a magnificent City on the West Side of the *Red Sea*, that he might be able to inspect his Maritime Power in Person, and judge of the Encouragements necessary to be given for striking out new Channels of Trade. But this Design meeting with many Obstacles, was not executed till after his Death, by *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who was very expeditious in perfecting this Design, and gave the new City his Mother's Name
of

“ of the wisest People about him, that instead of
 “ promoting, it would diminish the Commerce of
 “ his Empire, by taking away the Trade of *Arch-*
 “ *angel*. The Czar very wisely answered, *It is true,*
 “ *it will take away Part of that Trade, but it will in-*
 “ *crease it in bringing it hither, and a great Part will*
 “ *still remain at Archangel, at the same time that I*
 “ *raise a new Maritime Power in the Baltick, and ren-*
 “ *der myself more considerable by the Possession of one*
 “ *Part, than of many Kingdoms.*

of *Berenice*. This City joined to a safe and commodious Port, called *Myos-Hormos*, which quickly became the Mart for the principal Merchandizes of *Arabia*, *India*, *Persia*, and *Ethiopia*. These Merchandizes being laid up there, were thence transported by Camels to *Coptos*, where the public Officers took care to embark them on the *Nile*, and to see them safely conveyed from thence to *Alexandria*, there a constant and continual Exchange was made of all the rich Commodities furnished from the *East* to the *West*, and of the Necessaries with which the *West* supplies the *East*, but in less Quantity. As this double Commerce required Carriages, Artificers, and a vast Train of other Attendance, Care was taken to form a fine Road from *Coptos* to the *Red Sea*; and this Road was not only lined by a Canal, and furnished with large Reservoirs of fresh Water at convenient Distances, but Care was taken also to erect Magazines and Inns for the Ease of those who had occasion to transport Merchandizes this Way, and who consequently were obliged to be continually going either to or from *Alexandria*. Besides this, *Ptolomy Philadelphus* kept two numerous Fleets, one in the *Red Sea*, and the other in the *Mediterranean*, to scour those Seas of Pyrates, and to afford the Merchants all the Protection they could wish or desire; a Strain of Policy which at once manifested his Power,

his

his Superiority of his Genius, and his Attention to whatever might increase the Fortunes of his Subjects; for he was sensible, that if they sustained great Losses at Sea, the Weight would not be felt only by Individuals, but also by the State itself.

It was not the *Ptolomies* alone who were established in *Egypt*, that had an Eye to Maritime Affairs, the Successors of *Alexander* were far from neglecting Navigation. *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*, whom a Trifle rendered Enemies, so much the more irreconcilable as they had been fast Friends before, equip'd great Fleets, and mutually attack'd each other. This last had a Son, who distinguished himself by a Spirit of Invention, and a perfect Knowledge of the Mechanics; he contrived a new sort of Gallies, and many other Naval Machines. Nothing could resist his Genius, and the happy Address with which he applied himself to surmount all Obstacles, enabled him to overcome what appeared almost impossible, and to remove those Checks that seemed superior both to Art and Constancy. He came to be regarded as a Man invincible, or, at least, as a Man who found, even in Adversity, fresh Resources, and whose ill Fortunes served only to whet his Courage.

Greece and the *Lesser Asia* divided into many Kingdoms, almost continually at War with each other, and had alternatively Princes who

who thoroughly understood the Value of a Naval Power, and distinguished themselves thereby. Such were *Philip* and his Son *Perseus*, Kings of *Macedon*; *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, Kings of *Pergamus*; *Prusias*, King of *Bythi-
nia*; *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and the secret Partizan of all the Enemies of the *Roman* People; *Nabis*, and some other Tyrants, who settled and fortified themselves on the Coast of *Greece*. But these Princes either destroyed each other through secret Motives of Hatred and Jealousy, or sunk at last under the Weight of the *Roman* Power. When one seriously considers the Arts that Republic made use of, how she mingled a flattering Complaisance with a Severity in punishing, one needs not be astonished, that the Universe, either humbled by her Arms, or submitting through Fear, came at last to pay her Homage. The *Romans*, by their Character, had a Title to be Masters of the World, and they gained the Possession by their Conquests and their Victories.

They did not, however, possess themselves of all the Advantages that are derived from a great Force at Sea, till the Beginning of the second Punic War. Before that time, they had shewed a very trivial or scarce any Attention thereto, either because they were then wholly occupied in extending their Dominions by Land, or that the first Misfortunes they had experienced on their own Coasts, dis-

disgusted them, in respect to a Trade, where all Things are exposed to Chance, and where there is perpetual Danger. But as their Genius led them to persevere in the support of whatever they once discerned to be certainly and incontestably useful, they no longer abandoned Maritime Affairs, when they found that it was possible to reconcile them with their Views and Interests, and one may safely say, that it was to *Carthage*, the Haughtiness and Obstinacy of which gave them so much trouble, that they were chiefly indebted for this Obligation. When therefore the Senate of *Rome* took at last the fatal Resolution of razing that City to its very Foundations *, the Consul *C. M. Figulus* made the following Harangue, by their Order, to the *Carthaginians*. “ It is the Sea, the
 “ mighty Power you have acquired there-
 “ on, the Treasures you have drawn from
 “ thence, that have hastened your Fall. It
 “ is the Sea, and the Power that you possess
 there-

* “ The Destruction of *Carthage* was furiously
 “ pushed by the elder *Cato*, who was a better Patriot
 “ than Politician. He was one who never altered his
 “ Opinion; and for some time before the last Punic
 “ War, he never spoke on any Subject whatever in the
 “ Senate, but he added, *This I think, and that Carthage*
 “ *ought to be destroyed.* *Scipio Nasica* was of another
 “ Opinion. he thought that while *Carthage* subsisted,
 “ that Spirit of Emulation, so necessary to withstand
 “ Corruption, would be always kept alive in the *Ro-*
 “ *man* Commonwealth, but that it would be certainly
 “ lost on the Extinction of her Rival.

“ thereon, that has tempted you to seize *Sar-*
 “ *dinia, Sicily, Spain*, that has seduced you
 “ to break your Treaties of Peace, to pil-
 “ lage our Merchants Ships, and, to endea-
 “ vour to hide your Crimes, by drowning
 “ those you found on board them; in one
 “ Word, it has been your perfect Know-
 “ ledge of Maritime Affairs, that made you
 “ regard nothing else, and led you to place
 “ your Glory in the committing such mis-
 “ chievous Acts, as hitherto we have not
 “ been in a Condition, nor had the Power
 “ to punish^f.”

I shall not pretend here to run into a De-
 tail of all the Expeditions entered into by
 the *Romans* after the Punic Wars, and in
 which they shewed so extensive a Capacity
 in the Conduct of their Arms, so perfect a
 Presence of Mind in all Danger, an In-
 dustry so happy, in gaining the Hearts of all
 People, and making themselves willingly
 obeyed by those whom they had rendered
 their Subjects by Force. I shall only ob-
 serve,

^f When almost all *Europe* united in the Year 1508,
 against the Republic of *Venice*, and engaged in that
 famous Treaty, so conspicuous in History by the
 Title of the *League of Cambray*, they might have al-
 most used the same Harangue to that State. But
 more happy or more able than *Carthage*, she found a
 way to divide this Crowd of Enemies, and to draw
 over to her Party even those who had before seemed
 most ardently to wish her Destruction.

serve, that as all their Enterprizes had some great End in view, so they never failed of keeping great Fleets at Sea, under the Command of able and experienced Captains. The Love of Glory amongst them, was the universal Passion; and this it was that induced them to think that there was something low and indecent in all kind of Commerce. *Quæstus omnis*, cried out one of them, *Patribus indecorus visus est*, all kind of Traffick is beneath the Dignity of Senators. But Sentiments so rigid softened by degrees; and these very *Romans*, who would appear to conquer merely to have an Opportunity of giving Examples of Probity, Disinterestedness, and Moderation, began at length to vanquish, in order to procure the Delights and Commodities that they wanted, and that they might adorn *Italy* with the Spoils, and render her opulent at the Expence of other Nations. The Ruin of *Carthage*, which however was purchased by Rivers of Blood, subjected to *Rome* all the rest of *Afric*, which was of infinite Advantage, by securing to that proud City a constant Supply of Corn; and the burning of *Corinth*, which followed afterwards, finished the Demolition of *Greece*, and threw her into a Slavery so much the more galling, as for so long a Tract of Time she had been used to command. With respect to the Conquest made by the *Romans* in *Asia*, they proved the Source of such immense

triumphed over that unfortunate Prince, caused to be exposed, among the rest of the Spoils he had taken from him, one hundred and ten Prows of Galleys sheathed with Copper. It is well known, that this it was that heretofore constituted the great Force of Ships of War, and rendered them terrible in the Day of Battle; and as these Prows were easily taken off, they were, in the Day of Triumph, carried before the Victor, who, besides, had his Temples adorned with a Crown or Circle of Gold, on which were emboss'd the Prows and Poops of Gallies, intermingled one with another, which Crown was stiled *Navale*, or *Rostrale*.

But in the midst of so many Advantages, and so vast a Train of Success, there arose in the very Bosom of the Republic a Maritime Power, that thought to have given her a mortal Wound. In its first Appearance, this Power seemed very contemptible. It was no more than a Handful of Seamen and Soldiers who fled from the Rigour of the Laws, and having no other Resources than their Boldness, no other Retreats than the Caverns of Rocks, no hope but in flight, began to make Courses, and to pillage the Merchants. When these Soldiers and Sailors, whom Chance had united, had taken together some considerable Prizes, they plunged themselves into all sorts of Brutalities, till they found themselves reduced to their

their primitive Necessity, by the Consumption of their Booty. A Life so licentious, not only increased their Numbers, but also drew to them some Persons of greater Character, of whom most were tempted by the Novelty of the thing, and the rest compelled to it by domestic Distresses. There were even Senators, and some experienced Officers, who joined them, and who undertook to discipline and to conduct them. Thus, by degrees, they were formed into a Republic of a new kind indeed, but one that had consequently new Laws, and a particular Policy agreeable to its Nature, which contracted Alliances and Correspondences in all Places, and which did not confine itself so strictly to the Sea, but that its Members made frequent Descents on the Coasts, in order to ravage the Country, and even to put considerable Cities under Contributions. *It look'd, says Plutarch, as if the Trade of Piracy, by being lucky, was become more honourable.* The intestine Quarrels, and domestic Seditions at *Rome*, hindered her for a long time from applying any Remedy to so flagrant an Evil, or for providing for the Security of the *Italian* Coasts. But when the People perceived that the great Corn Fleets from *Egypt* and *Sicily* did not arrive, and that all the Necessaries of Life were risen to an excessive Price, they began not only to complain, but to clamour. *Pompey* was at
last

last charged with the Conduct of this War, the Consequences of which appeared to be dangerous; and according to the happy Expression of an antient Writer, *Rupto fœdere generis humani sic maria bello quasi tempestatî præcluserat*. And he succeeded so much the better, because Prosperity had softened and subdued these Pyrates, who owed that Courage that made them invincible, only to their Indigence, and yet two Years Thought and Toil were found necessary and scarce sufficed to bring this Affair to a proper Issue. It was towards the End of this disagreeable War, that *Pompey* often repeated what an illustrious *Greek* had once said before him, *That he is Master at Land who is Master at Sea*.

The *Romans* had hitherto kept within the Bounds of the *Mediterranean*. But when *Cæsar* was Governor of the *Gauls*, they were so hardy as to attempt navigating the Ocean, and for that reason built Ships stronger and of greater Burthen than they had formerly used. The new Obstacles they met with, and which it was naturally impossible for them to foresee, instead of discouraging, heightened their Courage and their Curiosity. *Cæsar* having severely punished the People at *Vannes*, who had assassinated his Ambassadors; and having settled the rest of the Affairs in his Government, projected a Descent on *Britain*, which must have been regarded as

a very hazardous Enterprize at that time of day; for that Country was not only unknown to the *Romans*, but, in a great measure, also to the *Gauls* themselves, who had only skimmed its Coasts, and bought there hastily such Commodities as they stood in need of. But *Cæsar* possessed, in a supreme Degree, those Talents which properly constitute a Hero, a Genius capable of forming, and a Courage equal to the Execution of the greatest Designs. He was likewise so fortunate, as in spite of all the Interruptions he met with to make a Descent upon that Island, and to oblige the People, notwithstanding their passionate Love of Liberty, to submit to pay the *Romans* Tribute, and to yield them considerable Impositions.

The new Lights that *Cæsar* acquired while he governed the *Gauls*, were of singular use to him in the Civil War, which recalled him into *Italy*. It imported him always to be superior at Sea, and with this View he built and equipp'd abundance of Ships, like those that he had seen in use among the *Gauls*; he conformed also to their Regulations, and that manner of fighting which was peculiar to their Marine. He likewise made use of a Stratagem that he had seen practised by the People of *Vannes* *, which was the painting

* “ *Britain* was, even in these early Days, a Maritime Power, and one great Reason why *Cæsar* attempted the Conquest of this Island was, because
“ the

ing his Vessels of a light Blue, and having his Sails and Yards of a Sea Green, to prevent being discovered at a Distance ; and by this Attention, and a continual Variation of his Contrivances, he very seldom attempted any thing in which he did not succeed. It look'd, if we consider the surprizing Swift-ness with which he executed all his Expeditions, as if the Winds blew under his Direction, and that Storms durst not approach his Fleets. Such is the Lot of happy Men. So I call People for whom favourable Opportunities seem to be multiplied, and Circumstances fall out in such a manner, that all their Views, all their Enterprizes are attended with full Success.

After the Death of *Cæsar*, which was truly deplorable, *Augustus* arrived at the Empire, and in Spite of the little Capacity he had for martial Affairs in general, or naval Exploits in particular, he obtained many Victories by the Assistance and the Experience of his Generals ; never any Prince wanted Assistance more than he, tho' generally speaking, they all want it enough.

“ the *Britons* had assisted the *Gauls* by their Fleets.
 “ It is indeed true, as our Author says, that *Cæsar*
 “ exacted a Tribute from this Nation ; but it was
 “ rather imposed for Form-sake, than with any real
 “ View to Profit ; for of all his Expeditions this
 “ ended least to his Honour, which gave the Poet
 “ *Lucan* an Opportunity of saying satyrically, that
 “ he had been at the pains to seek out the *Britons*
 “ purely to be beat by them.

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

enough. He began with entirely ruining the Maritime Forces of the younger *Pompey*, who in vain endeavoured to support that great but unlucky Name ^h. He afterwards fought the Battle *Actium*, which laid at his Feet him whom of all his Rivals he had most reason to fear, and whom, in effect, he feared the most. So great a Victory could not be left imperfect, it gave an Opportunity for establishing a Maritime System, which lasted during the whole Reign of *Augustus*. This System consisted in having always three stout Squadrons in a Condition to put to Sea; the first was stationed at *Frejus* in the *Narbonnensian Gaul*, which was to restrain the Inhabitants of the *Spanish Coasts*, and of those Parts of *Provence* and *Languedoc* which are washed by the *Mediterranean*; the second was at Cape *Messina*, for the Security of the Navigation in that which was called the *Lower* or *Etrurian Sea*; the third at *Ravenna*,

^h It is reported of this younger *Pompey*, that, having come to an Accommodation with *Anthony* and *Augustus*, he invited them to dine on board his Galley. While they were at table, one of his Free-men whispered in his Ear, *Give me but Orders, my Lord, and we will immediately put to sea. Master then of the Fate of your Competitors, it will depend entirely upon yourself, whether you will or will not enjoy the Empire.* *Pompey* remained motionless, and durst not reply, the Enterprize was superior to his Genius. There requires for the committing great Crimes, or exerting sublime Virtues, better Clay than Men are commonly made of.

venna, for scouring the Upper Sea, which is by us commonly called the *Adriatick*. Besides these two last Squadrons, he kept, as we are informed by *Vegetius*, always quarter'd near the Cape of *Messina* and *Ravenna*, a certain Number of Soldiers ready to embark at a Minute's Warning, who are called *Classarii*, or *Marines*. Their Duty was to serve at Sea, in which they were continually exercised. *Tiberius*, who in mounting the Throne affected to say, *Solam Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem esse*, that only the Faculties of the Divine *Augustus* were equal to so great a Weight, followed for some time the Plan laid down by his Predecessor. To him therefore the following Words were address'd, not so much in praise of what he had well done, as to excite him to do what was right for the future, *Penes te Hominum Deorumque consensus Maris ac Terræ regimen esse voluit*. To you, by the Consent of Men and Gods, the Rule of Earth and Sea is committed. But, by a Fate too common, he speedily gave the Lye to this, by forgetting himself. The last Years of his Life were very little answerable to the first. When Sovereigns are no longer jealous or curious in the support of Establishments begun in former Reigns, those Establishments quickly degenerate, begin then to languish, and fall into utter Extinction at last.

Augustus

Augustus equipped also Ships for making Discoveries in *Africa* towards the Equator, others for examining the Coast of *Europe* as far as the *Cimbrican Gherfones*, and lastly a third sort, which were to sail up such Rivers, the Mouths of which were only known; the Vessels employed in these Courses were stiled *Navis Lusoria*, or *Lusuria*. In a word, the *Romans* never undertook such perilous or important Voyages as under the Reign of *Augustus*. That Emperor who effaced, by his Virtues, and by his beneficent Actions, all Memory of the Cruelties committed during the Triumverate, took care to send into the most distant Provinces, Men of the most quick and penetrating Parts, from whom he received a most sincere and accurate Detail of all that passed there¹. But at his Death the Empire was sorely shaken, and his Foundations decayed by degrees; most of the Princes who succeeded him, whether by hereditary Right, by Fraud and Injustice, or by Favour and sudden Revolts of the Soldiers, had little or no Taste for Maritime Affairs, which, like all other great and useful Concerns, were insensibly abandoned. For this Reason, it is impossible to proceed regularly in this Discourse, or to lay down things with any Connection which

G 2 may

¹ The Emperor *Constantine*, who following the Example of *Augustus*, had always in the Provinces these sort of honourable Spies, called them *his Curioso's*.

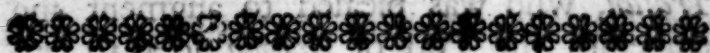
may seem worthy of a wise and well conducted Government, since for this there is a Blank in History. We find there only chance Expeditions, fitter to be referred to Humour and Caprice, than to true Courage, or a just Desire of sustaining the Dignity of the *Roman Name*.

There are, however, too remarkable Facts in this Period of History, that ought not to escape me. The first respects the Emperor *Claudius Nero*, who built, at the Entrance of the Port of *Ostia*, a Mole equally solid and superb, defended by two stout Out-Works, which were carried far into the Sea, their Foundations being laid on a Stone Plat-form raised on a Flute, which was afterwards sunk to the Bottom. Before his Time, this Port was an open Road, and very insecure, where Vessels had no sooner cast Anchor, than they were obliged to unlade their Cargoes into flat-bottomed Boats, which easily remounted the *Tyber*, a Method of Working, which occasioned a great many Losses, created a great Expence, and sometimes was the Cause of Shipwrecks, when the Wind changed suddenly: This Mole, which was erected by *Claudius Nero*, might be justly compared to the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, though the latter fully merited the Inscription placed thereon. *King Ptolomy consecrates this Pile to the Gods, who are Deliverers, for the Advantage of all such who go to Sea.*

The

The second Fact relates to the Emperor *Trajan*, who was pleased to augment and embellish the Port of *Ancona*, so as to render it one of the Wonders of the World. Round this Port there were vast Piazza's, where the Merchants talked with Foreigners about their Affairs, and set out Samples of the Merchandize they dealt in; there was a little below spacious and solid Keys, adorned with Breast-Works of Marble. Thence, by large and magnificent Stairs, you descended to the Strand, where Ships might be fastened to a Row of Pillars at equal Distances, the Tops of which were crowned with the Heads of Sea Divinities. The Medals of *Trajan* are to this Day sufficient Testimonies of this Magnificence, the like of which the Curious may seek in vain thro' all the Maritime Cities that make so great a Noise in the World in our Time. How noble the Example of so wise an Emperor, who instead of consuming vast Sums in the building a Palace, or adorning Pleasure-Gardens, chose to employ them in public Works advantageous to his Subjects in a Sea Port! He has been also recompenced for this in the most glorious manner; for after his Decease, they were wont to wish all Emperors, on their Accession, the *Fortune of Augustus*, and the *Goodness of Trajan*.

T H E



THE SECOND PART.

AFTER having thus spoken of so many Nations, of whom at this Day we have only a vague and broken Remembrance, I shall next proceed to speak of what more nearly and closely concerns us, I mean, our own Marine. But before I do this, I think it proper to observe, that most of the States of *Europe* have been for appropriating to themselves the Sovereignty of such Seas as wash their Coasts, and excluding others^a the use of them. As for *France*, incapable of giving into so vain a Notion, she has always supported her Right of navigating Ships in all Seas; and the King of *Denmark* having dared in 1637, to disturb some Vessels that were employed in the Whale Fishing on the Coast of *Greenland*, *Lewis XIII.* caused him to

^a To be persuaded beyond all Possibility of Doubt, that there is nothing more frivolous or worse founded than these sort of Pretensions, one need only read two excellent Works composed upon this Subject; the one by the learned *Hugo Grotius*, under the Title of *Mare Liberum*; the other by *Theodore Grafwinckel*, Advocate Fiscal of the Domaines of the States of *Holland*, under the Title of *Maris Liberi vindiciæ*.

to be informed by Count *d'Avaux* his Ambassador, that all Seas were open to his Subjects, and that he was able to maintain them in the Possession, of which, he would suffer nobody to doubt. And it is indeed one of the first Principals * in the Law of Nature, as established by our old Lawyers, *Mare commune omnium est*, say they, & *litora, sicut aër*, & *est sæpissime rescriptum, non posse quem piscari prohiberi*, i. e. The Sea is common to all, and so are its Coasts; and it is often set down as Law, that nobody has a Right to prohibit Fishing in them.

Lewis XIV. pushed his Authority still farther, and employed it not only in favour of his Subjects, but also of his Allies. For the King of *England*, *Charles the Second*, inclining

* “ The Author discovers here no small Prejudice in favour of his Country. He ought certainly, in justice, to have mentioned the Book written in Answer to *Grotius* by our learned *Selden*, under the Title of *Mare Clausum seu de Dominio Maris, Libri duo*, *Londini 1636*, 8vo; and his Answer to the other Book cited by our Author, in which two Works he has fully proved, that a Right may be acquired over the Sea, that such a Right has been acquired over our Seas by our Ancestors, that it has been always submitted to by our Neighbours, nay, that our Kings have granted Commissions to hear Complaints, even against the *French King*, for Injuries done at Sea. I say, he has proved all this as fully as any thing can be proved by Reason, Authority or Evidence; and to his Treatises therefore, I beg leave to refer the *English Reader* for full Satisfaction on this Head.”

clining to disturb the *Hollanders*, and even *French*, in fishing in the Channel, or along the Coast of *Flanders*, *Lewis XIV.* in 1661, charged the Count *d'Estrades*, his Ambassador, to tell him, " That he was in the
 " wrong to extend his Prohibition of Fish-
 " ing to the Prejudice of common Right,
 " which gave that Liberty to all the World;
 " that besides the Interest he had in this, in
 " respect to his own Subjects, he could not
 " help assisting, in this case, the *Dutch*, his
 " Allies, or refuse them his Interposition,
 " having a Maritime Force sufficient to ren-
 " der him not afraid of being opposed, in
 " this respect, by any Prince in the World*."
 Such were the Terms in which this Prince expressed himself, who, having had the Assistance of good Councils, knew how to render

* " This is another very Indifferent Proof of the
 " *French* Independancy at Sea. They engaged in a
 " War with us, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, with
 " no other View, than they afterwards engaged in
 " a War on our Side against the *Dutch*, to make
 " the Maritime Powers weaken each other, and to
 " gain Strength and Experience at our Cost. Now
 " if there was any Weight in Count *d'Estrades's* De-
 " claration, in favour of the *Dutch* Right to fishing
 " on our Coast without our Leave, it was certainly
 " taken away by the *French* King's joining with us
 " in a War against *Holland*; among the Causes of
 " which, this was one, that they had fished in our
 " Seas without Leave. So that if the *French* King's
 " Authority could avail any thing in this Case, here
 " it is on both Sides.

der himself powerful in Shipping, and formidable at Sea.

The *Gauls* who inhabited along the Coasts of the Ocean, and at the Mouths of great Rivers, whence the Lands they occupied were called *Ripuaries*, had too many Advantages, too many Islands, Capes, Promontories, Ports, and Havens at their Disposition, and, if I may so say, under their Hands, not to turn them to their Use; and as they were naturally impetuous, had a strong Desire of changing their Habitation, and were very little fitted for domestick Employments, they almost all applied themselves to Maritime Affairs. Hence it was that their Reputation grew thoroughly established in this respect, and they thought no Country out of their Reach to which their Vessels could carry them; and though it be true, that the *Romans* subdued them at Land, and divested them of their Rights and Privileges, yet is it no less certain, that they seldom gained any Advantage over them by Sea. There yet wanted for that such favourable Opportunities, and such unforeseen Events, as equally disconcert both Courage and Prudence. “Amongst the *Gauls*,
 “ as an illustrious Prelate of the fifth Century remarks, every Seaman was as adroit,
 “ and as able as the best Pilots in other Nations. There were no Enemies in the
 “ World more formidable, or more terrible
 “ at Sea than the *Gauls*. Always on their
 H “ Guard,

“ Guard, and alway ready to attack, it was
 “ impossible to surprize them. If boarding
 “ became necessary, they leaped into the
 “ Enemy’s Vessel, and overturned all before
 “ them, before you could well expect to see
 “ them entered. If they chased a Vessel,
 “ they infallibly took her, let her be ever so
 “ good a Sailor. If they were obliged to
 “ retire, they performed this with such Ad-
 “ dress, as to avoid the shameful Reproach
 “ of flying. In a word, when ever so much
 “ distressed by Weather, they knew how to
 “ manage their Vessels with such Address,
 “ that they were thought to have familia-
 “ rised themselves with Winds and Storms,
 “ and even with Death itself.” Is not this
 a perfect Description of our Marine, such as
 we have seen it, under an *Abraham du Quesne*,
 a Marshal *Tourville*, a *Nesmond*, a *Pointis*, a
 Chevalier *John Barth*, a *Coetlogon*, or a *Gué-
 Trouin*.

The Reputation of the *Gauls* subsisted a
 long time, by the Courage which they testi-
 fied in all their *Rencontres*, and still more
 by their Courses and sudden Irruptions, which
 rendered them infinitely terrible to their
 Enemies, and to all Maritime Nations. Be-
 sides Navigation, they applied themselves to
 fishing with a kind of Fury, and took great
 Pains in searching out such Creatures as are
 now stiled *Sea-Monsters*. They afterwards
 polished their Teeth, as the *English* also did,
 and

and employed them in adorning the Handles of their Battle-Axes, and of their Swords. This was one of their famous Pieces of Finery. *Præcipua viris gloria, says Solinus, est in armorum nitela.*

For the *Roman* Emperors who reigned before *Constantine*, they had, as I have formerly observed, but slight Notions of Maritime Affairs; so that *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, the most sincere amongst them, and beyond question the most honest Man, ingenuously acknowledges, *se quidem mundi Dominum esse, Legem autem Maris*, that he was Master of the Land, but Art and Industry was so at Sea. It is in effect the only Sense that can possibly be given to the Word *Legem*. The Emperors after *Constantine*, as they grew weaker and weaker, were often exposed to the Valour, and even to the Insults of the *Gauls*, who are stiled *Pirates* in most of the Panegyricks that were then addressed to them, *Eventu temeritatis ostenderunt Galli nihil esse clausum piraticæ desperationi, quò navigiis pateret accessus.* The *Gauls* have sufficiently shewn, by their daring Attempt, that nothing is safe from the desperate Attacks of *Pirates* that is accessible to Ships. But, in all appearance, they thought to discredit the *Gauls*, who, properly speaking, were neither *Corfairs* nor *Sea Rovers*, but knew how, upon occasion, to attack or defend

send themselves courageously, and loved to acquire new Territories.

The *Romans* losing, under the Reign of *Clovis*, all that they possessed in the *Gauls*, the Inhabitants were at last delivered from so long and rigorous a Subjection. That young Conqueror, always attended by Victory, but not always the most scrupulous Observer of Justice, founded a great Empire, that, which the *French* have rendered so considerable, and so much superior to others, an Empire which owed its Beginning to his Firmness and his Courage. All things were then decided by great Battles, and *Clovis* failed not to be always at the Head of his Troops, living in a familiar Soldier-like manner with his Captains, and his *Brethren in Arms*. There was not consequently under the first Race of our Kings, any need of a Maritime Power; and if in those Days they had any Commerce, it was only from Cape to Cape, from Creek to Creek, and this was managed by small and slight Vessels; they discontinued, in those Days, all long Voyages.

Under the second Race of our Kings, *France* found herself quickly, disquieted on the Ocean by the Courses of the *English* and the *Danes*, and in the *Mediterranean* by those of the *Saracens*, Wars so much the more dangerous, and the more fatal, as those People exercised a thousand Barbarities, and left every where Marks of the Brutality of their

their Tempers. So many Disorders, which grew greater and greater every Day, engaged *Charlemagne* to take an exact Account of the State in which at that time all the Ports of his Kingdom stood, to order all the old ^b ones to be cleansed, and to open new. He afterwards sought to engage, by his Liberality, as many experienced Mariners as it was possible, and he made use of them in building a great Number of Vessels, which he kept constantly well equipp'd, and fit to put to Sea. And as he saw more and more the Necessity of such an Establishment, and discerned plainly, that the Repose and Dignity of the State depended thereupon, he undertook several Voyages in Person, that he might see Things with his own Eyes, and run no risque of being imposed upon by the Reports of unfaithful or of unskilful Ministers. For this Reason that great Man performed the Functions of Admiral throughout the whole Extent of his Kingdom, and left it as a Law to his Successors to perform it

^b *Plutarch* reports, that the first thing *Julius Caesar* did after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, was to visit the Coasts of *Italy*, and to cause them to be defended by good Dykes. He also took care to build, at the Mouth of the River *Tyber*, Magazines and other Edifices for the Conveniency of Merchants and Strangers coming to *Rome*. Thus it appears, that in all Ages great Men have had very nearly the same Views, the same Thoughts, and the same Designs.

it with the like Exactness every two Years^c. But it does not appear that this Ordinance was much respected. *Lewis* the Younger seems to be the only one of our Kings who ever thought of it, and who took some Measures, especially about the Year 1102, in order to renew it. But the Mischiefs by which his Reign was overwhelmed, and above all his natural Inconstancy, would not allow him to put the last Hand to this Regulation.

Without entering into the Advantages which this Ordinance might have produced,
if

^c It is said that *Ebgar*, or *Edgar*, King of *England*, had a very considerable Fleet superbly equipp'd, which he divided into three Squadrons, that every Year he embarked on board one of these Squadrons, in order to make the Tour of his Island.

“ I am fully satisfied that our Author could have
“ given a much better Account of this Matter, if he
“ had so pleased. He need not have introduced this
“ Fact with *it is said*, since we have as good Authority for this Event as for any in our History. This
“ *Edgar* began his Reign in 957, according to the
“ *Saxon Chronicle*; and as to his Fleet, it consisted
“ of near a thousand Sail, and he did not coast round
“ his Kingdom once a Year in one of the three
“ Squadrons, but each Squadron carried him to the
“ Extent of its Cruise, and then he embarked on
“ board the other Squadron; and in the Year 973,
“ he caused himself to be rowed over the River *Dee*
“ by eight Kings, while himself steered the Helm;
“ and in his Titles he constantly used this of *Lord of*
“ *the British Seas*. This is a Fact of much greater
“ Certainty than can be produced for any Naval
“ Power within this Period of Time, and therefore
“ it deserves the *English* Reader's Notice.”

if it had been thoroughly executed, I shall only report a short Passage from the Life of *St. Lewis*. This Prince, through a rash and inconsiderate Zeal, had taken upon him the Cross; and as he went to embark at *Mersailles*, he found that some Lords had greatly prejudiced the free Navigation of the *Rhone*, by the Imposition of certain Duties and Tolls. Much displeased with this manner of acting, which he easily discovered would in time degenerate into Tyranny, he forbid at once all such Impositions; and when one of these Lords had the Insolence to endeavour, under various Pretences, to evade this Prohibition, and to continue in the Receipt of these Duties, the King immediately ordered his Castle to be demolished, and compelled him, to his no small Disgrace, to give Security never to impede the free Navigation of the River again. This seasonable Example of Severity certainly became very well a Prince, who, in all his Voyages, sought nothing but the common Benefit of his Subjects, and to inform himself of Abuses and Misdeeds, in order to see them corrected. The *Romans* were wont to complain, that their Emperors never stirred abroad; but to burthen their Provinces, they would undoubtedly have talked in another Strain, if those Princes had acted when they travelled like *St. Lewis*.

But

But to return to *Charlemagne*; he established the principal Seat of his Naval Power at *Boulogne*, where he re-edified the antient *Pharos*^a, which Time had destroyed; he went still farther, and in order to preserve a kind of Communication through the whole Course of his Kingdom, he built at certain Distances little Towers, in which Centinels were posted in the Night-time, who passed the Word from each other. These Centinels were detached from *Corps de Gardes*, who defended the Approaches of the Coast, and took all the Care they could to prevent such Descents as Foreigners might meditate. Upon this Subject the Monk of *St. Gal*, who wrote the Life of *Charlemagne*, tells us, somewhat curious enough, and which has the Air of a Prediction, if one could but believe that Kings have ever the Spirit of Prophecy. “ One Day, says he, it happened
“ that

^a The Light-House built by *Ptolomy Philadelphus* in the little Island called *Pharos*, near *Alexandria*, is that which has given its Name to all the rest. There are at this Day many of these Light-Houses, which are maintained, even in Times of War, for the common Security of Navigation. There are two Ways of making these. The first resembles great Lanthorns, which are surrounded with Plates of Glass, or Leaves of Talck cut very thin. In the midst of these Lanthorns they place several Copper Lamps, which are lighted at the Entrance of the Night; the other are great Chafing-Dishes of Iron, on which they burn Coal, the fattest and most sulphurous that can be got. The last answer the End best, the former are too apt to grow foul, and yield little or no Light.

“ that this Prince, being in a Maritime
 “ Town of *Languedoc*, saw from the Win-
 “ drow of his Palace several Ships, which
 “ kept together, and seemed to have a View
 “ of debarking Troops upon the Coast.
 “ They were in some doubt as to the Qua-
 “ lity of these Vessels, and as to the true
 “ Meaning of their coming there ; some
 “ took them for Ships from *Africa*, others
 “ for *English* Merchant Men. *Charlemagne*
 “ alone constantly asserted, that they were
 “ *Corfsairs* from the North, and that their
 “ Vessels had a better Cargo of Arms than
 “ of Goods, which was soon after confirm-
 “ ed by the Shallops that were sent to see
 “ what they were. These *Corfsairs*, seeing
 “ the Number of the People on the Shoar,
 “ and the several Motions they made, be-
 “ gan to doubt that the Master was there,
 “ a Master whom they knew to be too at-
 “ tentive to leave it in their Power to do
 “ any thing of Consequence, and therefore
 “ they immediately bore away. The King,
 “ however, still kept his Eyes fixed upon
 “ the Sea, and could not help shedding
 “ Tears. Then turning himself to those
 “ who were about him, and who were fur-
 “ prized at this Emotion, he spoke to them
 “ in the following Terms : If, while I am
 “ yet living, they have the Boldness to
 “ threaten thus the Coasts of this Kingdom,
 “ what will they not do when I am dead ?”

A kind of Prophecy which was unhappily, but too true, and which was fully accomplished afterwards.

Another Design still more advantageous to the Marine was formed by *Charlemagne* after he became Emperor, and that was to open a Communication between the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, in order to have procured a direct Passage from the Ocean to the *Black Sea*. There could not have been a greater Design, or better calculated for the Service of *Germany*, which is a vast, and, at the same time, a fruitful Country; but where, through the want of Commerce, and of Money, there is scarce such a thing as Industry. *Charlemagne* employed on this Design many Architects, and still more Engineers, who took the Level of the Ground, and marked out a Canal; and it is affirmed, that some Remains of their Works were visible at the Beginning of the last Century. It is but just to remark, that in all the shining Reigns, and indeed in all that were ever so little enlightened, they have endeavoured in *France* to render Rivers navigable, and to join the Ocean to the *Mediterranean*. This is, in my Judgment, an *Epocha* which does great Honour to those Reigns. Something of this kind was attempted by *Francis* the First, after he had broke the Chains that held him in *Spain*; but we were not, in those Days, so well versed in the Arts requisite for conducting

ducting vast Quantities of Water, or in sinking proper Levels to effect what was aimed at. This is a Work that seems to be reserved for *Lewis XIV.* who favoured so many others equally useful and worthy of him. I ought, however, to acknowledge, that the first Project of the Canal of *Languedoc* was struck out under the Auspice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who caused it to be examined with infinite Nicety^e; before he would afford it his Approbation. The Name of that Minister, to say the Truth, may be found at the Head of almost every thing that hath been carried into Execution since his Death, for the Glory and Advantage of the Nation.

The Life of a great Man is not long enough for the Accomplishment of his Projects, and his Successor is frequently such a one, as no way resembles him. *Charlemagne* left behind him a Son, who never had a proper Sense of the Dignity of the Throne on which he was seated, and who employed Religion, which he did not understand, in making a Merit of certain low and superstitious Practices, which Religion itself condemns. His other Successors had not either greater Talents, more elevated Sentiments, or better For-

I 2

tune

* See the Project presented to Cardinal *de Richlieu* in 1633, for the Junction of the Ocean with the *Mediterranean*, by *Stephen Richot*, Engineer to the King, and *Anthony Baudan*, Master of the Royal Works in *Languedoc*. This Project was printed the same Year.

tune in War. All things languished, all fell to ruin under their Hands, and the Works which *Charlemagne* could only plan, were interrupted, and remained imperfect. In this general Declension of the State, the Barbarians re-commenced their Courses, the North poured out of her Bosom whole Nations, who embarking on board Fleets, tumultuously assembled, attacked *France* on all Sides. Some entered by the *Seine* and the *Loire*^f, others coasted round the *Streight* of *Gibraltar*, and sailed up the *Rhone* to *Valence*. Murder and Terror marched in the Van, and the little Resistance that they found upon the Coasts, rendered them still more fierce and more audacious. In vain the Kings, who were Heirs to the Scepter of *Charlemagne*, thundered out, one after another, severe Ordinances, recommending the Safe-Guard of the Coast, and the Watching, for the common Defence, to the Care of the Inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces. It happened to these Princes, as it will happen to every Government enervated and weakened; Laws were multiplied, but nothing was execu-

^f It is thought that many of these Barbarians inhabited at the Mouth of this River, from whence they spread afterwards into the Country of *Guerande*, and the Diocese of *Vannes*. Hence it is that the *Celtic* Language, which is still spoke thereabouts, is full of foreign Words, which come from the antient *Saxon*, and which are not in use in any other Part of *Lower Britanny*.

executed; they made many useful Regulations, but nobody obeyed them. At last, it became necessary to accommodate things with such formidable Enemies, and to submit to all the Conditions that they thought fit to impose, and even to yield to them *Normandy*, one of the finest Provinces of the Kingdom, to cover the rest from their Pillages and Insults. These new Hostes, however, did, in the end, no less Honour to this Country, than its ancient Inhabitants. I must likewise remark, that they sustained, by many Conquests, as well in *Italy* as in *Greece*, their first Reputation; Conquests, however, that carried in them always I know not what of the Adventurer.

Things having taken this Turn, we forgot entirely Maritime Power in *France*, and we never began to dream of it again, till by an unaccountable Train of Events, and a sort of sudden Inspiration, Kings, Princes, Ecclesiastics, and common People devoted themselves to Expeditions into the Holy Land. We were first obliged to make use of *Venetians*, *Genoese*, and *Castillans*, and to hire Ships of them at a vast Expence, which retarded these Expeditions, and hindered them from being executed with a certain Activity; for want of which, all Affairs, but especially those of the Sea, succeeded but ill.

I shall run but lightly over the deplorable Consequences that attended these *Croisades*;

Enterprizes that were truly unlucky, and were the Means made use of to carry them into Execution, did by no means answer the Motive which gave them Birth, in which Men engaged from a noble Zeal for Religion, and in which, at every turn, they belied that Zeal by a Conduct incompatible therewith, in which nothing was talked of but Virtues, at the same time that it was dishonoured by the Appearance of all sorts of Vices. The great Number of Persons of Distinction who passed the Seas, the Train and Equipages for which they had occasion, drew our Kings, in some measure, out of that Stupefaction under which they had so long laboured, with respect to Maritime Affairs. They themselves, contrary to all the Law of true Policy, left their Kingdom, and went in search of perilous Adventures, in order to deliver the Holy Places from the Tyranny of the Infidels, which could be the Effect of nothing less than outrageous Fanaticism. They built, in process of time, by their Orders, some Ships at *Mersailles*, and drew together others from the Coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*; but in doing this, they made use of harsh and violent Methods, took away the Vessels of private Men without the least respect to Property, and thereby put an absolute Stop to Trade, at least for a Time. But these sort of Armaments made without Care, and without Choice, could have little or no Success.

cess. Chance was the sole Guide, either as to the Number of their Vessels, the manner of their sailing, or the Rout they were to take; Mischiefs inseparable from such a Method of going on, in which they might be justly said to live from Day to Day. From hence were derived those useles putting into Ports so many abortive Projects, and such frequent Shipwrecks. Of these, the most remarkable was that of *Philip the Hardy*, after having seen the best Part of the *French Army* destroyed by the Plague before *Tunis*, and even his own Father, the intrepid *St. Lewis*, expire there, he then thought of nothing but a Retreat. He chose for this Purpose such Vessels as he thought the best Sailors, and ordered the rest of his Fleet to follow him without delay. The Beginning of his Expedition was fortunate enough; in a few Days the King landed in *Sicily*. But he had scarce put his Foot on Shore, before there arose a most furious Tempest, which had two very different Effects. The first was, that it drove out to Sea the Ships that were already in Port; the second, that it forced with like Violence on the Coast such as were at Sea; nay, it even dashed the two Squadrons one against the other, and buried thereby the best Part of both in the Bottom of the Deep. Here ended that Humour that had lasted so long in so strange a manner;
from

from hence forward we heard no more ^s of *Croisades*.

It was during the Course of this Religious War, that a new Office was erected unknown to former Times, *viz.* That of Admiral. As there was nobody in the Kingdom who was able to execute it, it was at first given to Strangers. Thus, under St. *Lewis*, it was executed by *Hugues Lartaire* and *Jaques de Levant*, both Natives of *Genoa*, it was afterwards conferred on *Spaniards*, and even on *English*. But that which was at first the Recompence of Maritime Toils, became, in process of time, the Object of the Ambition of our greatest Lords, who contented themselves with the Possession of what they could not exercise for want of Knowledge and Experience.

Tho'

^s We preserve in the Navy the Remembrance but of two high Winds, *viz.* that in 1688, and that in 1735. The first of these is called to this Day the *High Wind* of *M. de Mortemar*, who was caught by it in the Beginning of *September*, as he was doubling *Cape Siciey*, at the Extremity of the Gulph of *Lyons*; and though the Ships he commanded had not so much as a Sail flying, but barely Masts and Ropes, they were carried away into the Gulph of *Palma* in *Sardinia*. The second High Wind was on the 9th of *January* 1735, and caused prodigious Mischiefs in several Parts of *Europe*.

“ It seems the great Storm in 1703, by which we
 “ lost thirteen Ships of the Royal Navy, and suffer-
 “ ed, in other respects, to the Amount of several
 “ hundred thousand Pounds, was not so severely felt
 “ in *France*.”

Tho' the Title of Admiral ^h was not used in *France* before the Time of *St. Lewis*, it appears, however, that, under the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, there was a certain Officer who, in some measure, discharged the same Functions. This is what we may gather from *du Tillet*, in his summary Chronicle of our Kings: "*Philip*, says he, seeing that the Plague increased in his Camp, had left the greatest Part of the Army to the Care of *Eudes*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Rufin Volte*, a *Genevese*, his General of the Fleet; and after having visited the Pope at *Rome*, returned himself into *France*, where he arrived about *Christmas*." This precipitate Departure of the King, though it begat a secret Jealousy amongst the other Princes who had taken the Cross, yet it was of infinite Consequence to him; for, in all appearance, if he had staid, he had perished with the rest of his Troops. If *Philip Augustus* had been at all susceptible of Omens, he might have found a plausible Pretence for this

^h As *Guyenne*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne* were not then under the Dominion of *France*, the Governors of these three Provinces took to themselves the Titles of Admirals; their Example encouraged other Lords, who had Lands on the Sea Shore, to do the like. They took, in Contempt of the Royal Authority, the Style of *Patrimonial Admirals*, and assumed excessive Authority over the Fishery, and over the Commerce. But all these Usurpations have been abolished within this Age and half.

this sudden Return. Thunder had fallen five times in one Day upon his Fleet, and the Vessels destroyed by it were the nearest to the Ship in which he was embarked.

While the Kingdom was thus in Motion, and scarce any thing thought of but the Prosecution of the Holy War, some naval Armaments were made in favour of the House of *Anjou*, on whom the Pope had bestowed the Crowns of *Naples* and *Sicily* in the Person of *Charles* the First, Brother to *St. Lewis*. But these Armaments were as unlucky as they could possibly be, through the want of Experience and Indocility of the Generals, who were absolutely incapable of taking of right Measures: And the House of *Anjou*, famous for Acts of Imprudence, did not long enjoy these two Crowns, which they possessed, in effect, from the vain Liberality of the Popes, without having any legal Title.

To the *Croisades* succeeded the long and important Quarrels between the *French* and *English*, on which I shall make the two following Reflections. The first, that *Lewis* the Younger having espoused *Eleanor*, sole Heiress to the Duke of *Guyenne*, thought himself afterwards obliged to repudiate this Lady, and to restore her Territories¹, contrary

¹ *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, who was Emperor in right of his Wife, answered some who advised him
to

trary to all the Rules of sound Policy. To revenge so sensible an Affront, (for what is there of which an angry Woman is not capable) she espoused the King of *England*, and opened him a fair Entrance into *France*, which he had never had, but from the Imprudence of *Lewis* the Younger, who was of a weak and bigotted Disposition, in a manner eaten up with Superstition, which obliged the Heiress of *Guyenne*, when she demanded a Dissolution of her Marriage, to say, that she intended to have taken to her Bed a Prince, and not a Monk. The second, That *William* the Bastard, as he could never have got Possession of his new Kingdom, but by the Assistance of *Philip* I. King of *France*, and *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, he ought to have preserved for them an eternal Gratitude. But this happy and fortunate Vassal, as it falls out but too often, forgot his Benefactors, and blushed at the thoughts of being indebted for a Crown, which made him transmit to his Successors the Seeds of Aversion and Hatred, which, in process of time, took deeper and deeper Root. At first these proceeded no farther than Menaces, secret Plots,

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and

to put her away on account of her outrageous Debaucheries, *Si demittamus uxorem, reddamus & dotem*, i. e. If we put away the Wife, we must refund her Portion. *Machiavel* looks upon this Answer as more devout than was agreeable to an Emperor, who, in virtue of his Rank, was the sole Judge of what ought to be the Punishment of so infamous a Woman.

and open Challenges of one Kingdom against another. But a War followed soon after, and the bloodiest War that the ^k *French* and *English* ever sustained.

As they attacked each other, without the least Management, and sought every Occasion of mischieving each other, there happened several Sea-Fights between them, which lasted long enough to discover a great deal of Maritime Skill. The two most considerable were that of *Bayonne*, under *Philip* the Fair, and that of *Skys*, in which *Philip of Valois* lost the best Part of his Fleet, which was, in great part, owing to a Misunderstanding amongst his Officers, and was, in some measure, occasioned by their not being able to preserve the Advantage of the Wind. One great Mischief, to which the *French* were liable in all Affairs of this sort, was that remarked by Cardinal *d'Offat*, viz. “ That
 “ our antient Kings had never made any
 “ great Account of Maritime Power, tho’
 “ they had so fine, so large a Kingdom,
 “ washed by two Seas almost through its
 “ whole

^k One of our Historians has very justly compared this War, for its Length and Obstinacy, to that which was heretofore carried on between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, and which ended at last in the intire Ruin of the latter. *Froissard* observes, that the *English* were so foolishly incensed against the *French*, that some Gentlemen wore a black Patch upon one Eye, from I know not what sort of Vow, that they would never see with it till they had signalized themselves by some memorable Exploit against *France*.

“ whole Extent ;” they were obliged to make use of foreign Vessels, which never obeyed but slowly, and with Reluctance. It is true that the *English* did not as yet build their own, but had them from *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Hamburg*, and *Dantzick*, which Custom lasted even to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Yet most apparent it is, that in these sort of Expeditions, the *French* were either less able, or less happy, than the *English*. As to the rest, both Nations shewed an equal Valour, or rather an equal Temerity, and were in all respects Rivals worthy of each other. As to the Battles that were fought on Land, they were always excessively bloody. But that which History has thought worthy of remark, is, that those who carried the Victory, and remained Masters of the Field of Battle, were not always those that deserved to conquer. Sometimes by Impatience, and for want of proper Precautions, as at *Créci* (*Cressy*;) sometimes by a foolish Fierceness, as at *Poitiers*, *France* plunged herself into a Series of Mischiefs and Disgraces, that had well nigh overturned her.

Charles V. surnamed *the Wise*, repaired, though he had no other Resources than what he found in himself, all that was capable of being repaired. Shut up in the midst of rolling Tempests, struggling under the greatest Difficulties, he convinced all *Europe*, that,
with

with Courage, and a certain Force of Genius, it is possible to oppose the Injuries of Fortune, and even to surmount them. But that which he perfectly understood, and which he always looked upon as the first Principle in the Art of Government, was this, that to give a Check to the Insults of the *English*, it was necessary to be more powerful than they at Sea. This Prince therefore employed his utmost Endeavours for establishing a Fleet, and for gaining the absolute Disposition of that of the *Castillans*, which was then very numerous. In this Project he was very happily seconded by *John de Vienne Seigneur de Couci*, who at that Time possessed the Office of Admiral of *France*, and who executed it with such a superior Capacity, that he put it on a level with that of Constable; he often repeated to his Master a Maxim which long Experience had taught him, that the *English* were no where so weak, or so easy to be defeated as at home. This is a Maxim which, with us, ought never to be forgot.

The Successor of *Charles V.* falling into a State of Lunacy, and being consequently in no Condition to manage things himself, could not support the Regulations introduced in the Marine. It sunk therefore so much the faster, as the Kingdom was already weakened by the Incapacity of its Master,
and

and still more torn by the Intrigues and Outrages of the two powerful Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*. Add to all this, that the *English* had introduced themselves, and were fortified in the very Heart of *France*, and no Power, no Force seemed capable of driving them out, or of forcing them to abandon Conquests so rapidly established. There were requisite to this many whimsical and extraordinary Events, such as the Appearance of the famous *Pucelle*, the finding a Sword in a Tomb, which was undoubtedly placed there on purpose, in order to change the Face of Things, and bring back *Charles VII.* to his Capital. The Times were so stormy, and the People's Minds so heated, the King himself had so little Power, that it was a fair Use he made of his good Fortune to fix himself firmly on his Throne, without thinking of any new Projects. Unhappy is the Kingdom that falls into Distress, that receives Injuries, and suffers Affronts, without having Power to take a quick Revenge! "And in truth, Sire, as said Marshal *d'Aumont* to *Henry III.* the worst is, that
 " the more we yield, the more they tram-
 " ple upon us. Command us either to fight
 " and die for your Service, or drive us from
 " about you."

The Desire of being Masters of the Riches of *Italy*, joined to Councils far from prudent,
 2 and

and far from Moderation, engaged ¹ *Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Francis I.* to endeavour to make good their Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. The War which these Princes carried on there, without doubt, too precipitately promised, at first, very happy Success; but it deceived them in the end, and taught them to understand, that though *Italy* has been often fattened with the Blood of the *French*, as *du Pleffis-Mornay* well observed, yet the *Flower-de-Luce's* will never flourish there. They farther perceived the indispensable Necessity of having always considerable Squadrons ready to put to Sea. But as those Princes found themselves in an absolute Want of a naval Force, they had recourse to the Republic of *Genoa*, and took, by force, all the Trading Vessels belonging to the Merchants belonging to *Provence* and *Biscay*. There was not, at that time, in the whole Kingdom, so much as one Naval Arsenal.

Lewis

¹ *Philip de Comines* blames, on several Occasions, the Expedition that *Charles VIII.* made into *Italy*; This Enterprize, says he, seemed to all wise and experienced Persons, very dangerous. The King was very Young, a weak Person, accompanied by few wise People, or good Officers, and, at the same time, without Money. The principal Counsellors he had in his Train, or, as they are called by *Stephen Pasquier*, his Minions, Apprentices in War, were *William Briçonnet*, Bishop of *St. Malo's*, and *John de Vert*, Seneschal of *Beaucaire*.

Lewis XII. soon perceived that his Troops suffered infinitely by these sort of Passages, and that they diminished by little and little, through the Avarice and Jealousy of Strangers, obliged the principal Cities of his Kingdom to furnish him with a Fleet, and to maintain it, during the War, at their own Expence. *Paris* was comprized in this Regulation, and rated at a Ship of 800 Tons, which threw the whole City into Confusion. The Provost of the Merchants, and the Echevins, went to throw themselves at the Feet of the King, who, touched with their Complaints, and being naturally of a gentle Disposition, contented himself with a Vessel of 400. The other Cities, disposed thereto by this Example, shewed a ready Obedience, and contributed all of them in proportion to the Capital.

There is some Appearance that they had already begun to work seriously at establishing a Maritime Power, if it had not been for the intestine Troubles which followed, and divided *France* into various Factions, so much the more animated against each other, as they all acted from a furious and misguided Zeal; Men's ^m Minds, in general, were

^m In order to have a distinct Idea of the State of the Marine at that Time, it will suffice to report the following short Passage, drawn from the secret Instructions given by *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, called,

were turned towards War, and under pretence of Religion, and a false Shew of Public Spirit, there was nothing to be seen but Burnings, Robberies, and Murders.

The House of *Guise* endeavouring to engross all Authority to themselves, and to supplant those of *Chatillon* and *Montmorenci*, they all three became ready to sacrifice all sort of Principle to the Thirst of Power. I must however acknowledge, that in the midst of these difficult Times, and in spite of the Disorder Affairs were in, they published two Ordinances in relation to the general Establishment of the Marine, when one would scarce imagine they could have been so well acquainted with such Things. The first was published at *Amboise* by *Charles IX.* in 1562, and the other at *Paris*, by *Henry III.* in 1584. But these Ordinances served rather to shew the need they had of a Maritime Power, than to point out the Means to establish it; and

ed, by way of Distinction, *Don Philippe prudente*, when dying, to *Philip III.* his Son. “ Do not suffer
 “ yourself, said he, ever to neglect the Navigation
 “ of both *Indies*. Upon this the Safety of your Domi-
 “ nions, and your own Reputation depends. *France*
 “ ought not to give you any Umbrage, torn as she is
 “ within by domestick Dissentions, and impuissant a-
 “ broad, she totally neglects her Affairs at Sea. But
 “ beware of the *English*, dread the Rebels in the Low
 “ Countries. These alone have the Power and the
 “ Inclination to persevere in doing you Mischief. If
 “ they join together, they can put more than 150
 “ Ships to Sea.”

and I am ready to think, that *M. de Villeroy*, Secretary of State, alluded to this when discourfing familiarly with *Henry IV.* he faid, “ The Kings, his Predeceffors, in the Times
“ of greateft Confufion, had always acted
“ like Kings, and that in thofe Times, jealous of the Refpect due to the Majesty of
“ the Throne, he had himfelf fpoke, written, and commanded like a King.”

But by a Series of Difgraces that followed one on the Heels of another, the whole Government funk under *Henry III.* and as his Nature, fays *d' Aubigné*, was foft, delicate, and fupple, his Wit and Courage weak, defaultory, impatient of Trouble; like all of fuch unequal Complexions, too bafe to be warlike, he was inclined to Dances, and effeminate Pleafures, that are the Product of a long Peace.

After the Reduction of *Paris*, and the memorable Examples of Clemency and Goodnefs that were given there by *Henry IV.* he applied himfelf to the Care of Navigation and Commerce, the Importance of which he was fufficiently inftructed in, by the generous Succours he received from the Queen of *England*. Such an ⁿ Example emboldened him, and he gave Orders to Prefident

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Jean-

ⁿ Thefe Succours were too dearly paid for in the end, *England* made *France* but too fenfible of her Superiority at Sea. *Cui plus licet quam par eft, plus vult quam licet.*

Jeannin, who was then going in Quality of Ambassador Extrordinary to the States General, to gain the best Lights possible into these Affairs, to bring with him into *France* some Sea Officers, who had made long Voyages. Certainly never any Person was more properly employed in such a Commission, than this wise Ambassador, and we see in the printed Collection of his Negotiations, Part of the Measures taken by him in this respect. The Weakness of *France* was then so great, that she had it not in her Power to resent even the most open Affronts.

Maximilian Bethune, Duke of *Sully*, has reported one in his *Oeconomies Royales & Politiques*, of which he was both a Subject and a Witness. Being at *Calais* with secret Instructions for managing a Treaty in *England*, he addressed himself to *M. de Vic*, Governor of that Place, and Vice Admiral of *France*, and embarked on board his Ship, which carried a Flag in the Main Top-Mast-Head. He was scarce on board, before he perceived two Flutes, that, by way of distinction, were sent to receive him, and which offered to carry him to *London*. But these Flutes, before they would take him in, insisted that *M. de Vic* should lower his Flag, and render, as the *English* Officers phrased it, to the King their Master, the Honour due to him as Sovereign of the Seas. The Circumstances of the Times, and the Necessity of Affairs,

Affairs, obliged both the Ambassador and the Vice Admiral to submit to so harsh, so unjust, and so mortifying a Circumstance, as the Count *d'Estrades*, in 1662, demonstrated to *Charles II.* and Chancellor *Hyde*, his first Minister.

This Remonstrance, or rather Reproach, was occasioned by a Letter of the 25th of *January* of the same Year, written by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, to that Minister, and conceived in the very strongest Terms. “ Neither the King of *England*, says that great Prince, nor those whose Counsel he uses, know me sufficiently as yet, since they pretend to take with me such rough Measures, and make use of a Stiffness which favours of Threatening. I don’t know a Power under Heaven able to make me move a Step, in that sort of Road; it is very possible that I may meet with Misfortune, but it is impossible that any thing should strike me with Fear. I thought I had acquired a better Character in the World, and that People had a better Opinion of me, for I flatter myself it is only at *London* where they make these false Judgments. It depends upon me, and upon my Conduct, that they remain not long under such Errors. . . . It is, however, true, that nothing can be more indifferent to me, because I intend shortly to put my Naval Force on such a foot, as
“ that

“ that the *English* shall be thankful that I
 “ will yet listen to any Expedients
 “ After all, there is nothing touches me so
 “ so nearly as a Point of Honour, where I
 “ apprehend the Credit of my Crown to
 “ be wounded in the least ; for, in such a
 “ case, instead of thinking, or putting my-
 “ self in pain about what may happen, I
 “ am always ready to hazard my Domini-
 “ ons, rather than commit the least Weak-
 “ ness which may tarnish its Glory, which
 “ I consider, in all things, as the principal
 “ Object of all my Actions.” This is to
 think and speak like a King.

The Scarcity of Ships, under which *Hen-*
ry IV. laboured, and which was so great,
 that Cardinal *Richlieu* made no Difficulty
 of saying to *Lewis XIII.* that his Father had
 not so much as a single Vessel at his Com-
 mand ; this Scarcity, I say, emboldened the
 Grand Duke *Ferdinand* to take upon him the
 Sovereignty of the *Mediterranean*, and to re-
 tain, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, the
 Islands of *If* and *Pomegue*, which he had
 seized during the Flame of our Civil Wars,
 through the Imprudence of a Governor,
 whom a Party of Pleasure had drawn to
Merseilles. Nobody on the Coast of *Langue-*
doc and *Provence* durst attempt to stop his
 Courses and his Pyracies ; to such a degree
 did the Enemy triumph over our Weakness.
 We were at last forced to have recourse to a

Negotiation, and even to engage the Pope to act as a Mediator. Cardinal *d'Ossat* speaks at large of this Matter in one of his Letters; he who, notwithstanding the Purple with which he was invested, piqued himself on nothing so much as being a good *Frenchman*. "I wish, said he, in case we had a Peace, that the King would employ in building a good Number of Gallies at *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, such a Sum as the War might consume in one, two, or three Months, which would be a thing of great Security, Advantage, Ornament, Reputation to the Crown of *France*, and put an end to that Scandal that so great a Kingdom, washed by two Seas, should not have wherewith to defend itself by its Naval Force against Corsairs and Pyrates, much less against other Princes." I am much surprized, adds the same Cardinal in another Letter, to see *France* so utterly unfurnished with Vessels, here, where, I see all the Princes of *Italy*, who have each of them but an Inch of Sea Coast, have, nevertheless, their Gallies and a Naval Arsenal.

The Grand Duke broke a second Time with *Henry IV.* and went over to the *Spanish* Party; and when the King ordered the Marquis *d'Alincourt* to remonstrate sharply to him upon this Subject, the *Italian* Prince, without being at all disconcerted, made Answer,

swer °, " That the whole Fault is entirely
 " in the King your Master. If he had had
 " only forty Gallies in his Port of *Mer-*
 " *seilles*, I should have taken great Care of
 " acting the Part I have done." One may
 apply, on this Occasion, that Maxim of
Lewis XI. which we find cited in the *Rosier*
des Guerres, and which all Princes ought to
 have implanted in their Minds. " Art and
 " Wisdom are far preferable to Power. For
 " it very often falls out, that by a bare Dis-
 " play of their Banners, or happy Disposi-
 " tion of Men in a Line of Battle, some
 " Princes have struck their Enemies with
 " Terror, and put them to Flight."

But the Time drew on, in which a supe-
 rior Genius of the small Number ^p of those
 which

° The King of *Portugal*, in 1734, made very near
 the same Answer to the Marquis de *Chateauneuf*, Am-
 bassador of *France*; If your Master, said he to him,
 had sent a Squadron of thirty Sail to cruize between *Lis-*
bon and *Setubal*, as we had agreed, I had never detached
 myself from his Interests. See also the Letter of the
 King of *Portugal* to Pope *Clement XI.*

^p If I may be permitted to compare with Cardinal
Richlieu a Man who undoubtedly had shewn himself
 his Equal, *Si prospera fata tulissent*; it should be Car-
 dinal *Alberoni*. He revived the Naval Power of *Spain*;
 but his Disgrace gave it a mortal Wound. It has
 only languished ever since.

" The Reader may find a full Account of this in a
 " Book published a few Years ago, entitled, *The Life*
 " of the Duke de *Ripperda*, in which there is a large
 " Description of the Methods pursued by this great
 " Statesman, for attaining so extraordinary an End,
 " as

which merit that Title, was to appear in *France*, the Reader will easily discern that I am speaking here of Cardinal *de Richlieu*, whose Penetration and Activity piercing through every Branch of Government, enabled him to supply all its Wants. “ I promise to the King, *says he*, in his Political Testament, to employ all my Industry, and all the Authority that he shall be pleased to give me, in order to ruin the *Hugonot* Party, to repress the Pride of the Nobility, to reduce all his Subjects to an exact Performance of their Duty, and to carry his Majesty’s Credit amongst foreign Nations to that Height in which it ought to stand.” He began soon after to lay, not by Chance, and at Hazard, but with a perfect Judgment, and exact Knowledge of the Matter, the Foundation of a Naval Power. All the Advantages of this, and all the Superiority it was capable of conferring, the Cardinal had absolutely discovered, and distinguished at the Siege of *Rochelle*, which he conducted himself by the Lights of his own Genius, as the principal Engineer, and what passed there under his own Eyes, in relation

“ as raising a Naval Power in the Space of twenty Months; which, however, he accomplished to the Surprise, shall I say, or the Terror of all *Europe*; for what, save the latter, could justify the manner in which the *Spanish* Fleet was destroyed?”

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relation to the Descent the *English* made on the Island of *Rhe*, sufficed to convince him of the vast Importance, and absolute Necessity of a Naval Power to *France*. Hence it was, that, through the Course of his Administration, he caused a vast Quantity of Timber, fit for building, to be collected, erected Magazines, bought abundance of Vessels; and one may safely say, that if his principal View, on one Side, was to abate the Haughtiness of the House of *Austria*, it was, on the other, to share with the *English* the Empire of the Sea, and perhaps at a proper Juncture to seize it.

The Charge of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendant General of the Navigation and Commerce of *France*, to which he was raised in 1626, on the Resignation of the Duke de *Montmorency*: This Charge, I say, gave him an Opportunity of carrying most of the Projects into Execution, which he had formed in his Closet, and at the same time secured to him all the Honours, and all the Prerogatives of the Marine. One of the first Uses he made of this, to the great Astonishment of the whole the Court, was to attack the Duke d'*Espernon*, who, in Quality of Lord of the Territory of *Candale*, pretended to appropriate to himself all the Wrecks that happened upon the Coast of *Medoc*. The Cardinal, so much the more superior to other Men, because he could never be brought to fear
any,

any, called this pretended Right in question, especially in regard to two *Portuguese* Carraques, which, in their return from *Goa*, were cast away on that Coast in 1627. The old Duke, at that Time Governor of *Guyenne* and of *Bordeaux*, resisted for some time; but at last it became necessary, that *the fiercest of all Gascoignes, and the most of a Gascoigne that ever Man was*, should yield to a Power superior to his own. The Right of Admiralty was taken from him, and reunited to the Crown.

A Man of Genius, and one who is well acquainted with the Intrigues of *Lewis XIII.* assures us, that the Cardinal received, with the best Grace in the World, whatever Propositions were made him on the Subject of Commerce, that he excited the principal Merchants in the Kingdom to travel into foreign Countries, in order to examine there the most curious Manufactures, and to penetrate the Secrets of particular Traders; that, besides this, he brought, at his own Expence, several rich Traders into *France*, such as *Nicholas Witte*, of *Alcmaer* in *Holland*; *Francis Billoty*, of *Brussels*; *John de Meurier*, Lord of *St. Remi de Redon*, in *Bretagne*, with whom he was wont to retire, and to spend several Hours together in a free Conversation. There he weighed all the Forces of the Kingdom, entered into the most perplexed Calculations, and the most

laborious Enquiries; the principal Design of which was, to bring over Foreign Manufacturies, and naturalize them in *France*. It is even said, that he intended to have formed a grand Company for promoting Commerce under the Title of *la Nacelle de Saint Pierre Fleudeliffée*, i. e. *the Bark of St. Peter Flower-de-luced*. This Company was to have had Factories and Magazines in all the principal Cities of the Kingdom, and was to have undertaken the general Importation of all the sorts of Merchandize the Nation stood in need of, even from the most distant Countries. One of the first Articles provided, that Persons of any Rank or Condition might enter into this Company, enjoy Shares therein, and carry on, under his Direction, Commerce by Sea, without any Apprehension of their Nobilities being disparaged^a thereby in the least. Is it not indeed extraordinary, that the Art of destroying Men's Lives should enoble, and that this of preserving them, procuring the Necessaries, the Conveniences, and even the Delights of Life, should be thought a Debasement?

The quick Success with which the first Designs of the Cardinal were attended, to the

^a This Title must appear, without doubt, very extraordinary to such as are not aware, that even in the best Projects of Cardinal *Richlieu*, there was always something Romantic. Witness his great Attachment to Theatrical Pieces, and the bombast Names he was pleased to give them.

the Surprize even of those whom he employed, made it evident how great Things *France* was able to do, when she employed all her Arts, and exerted all her Force, when she brought out of *Brest* and of *Toulon* whole Fleets superbly equipp'd, and commanded by the most experienced Officers, when her Vessels spread over the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*, established every where that Respect which is due to the White Flag, when to punish Treason and Insolence, she caused *Genoa* and *Algiers* to be bombarded, and carried Terror into the very Heart of *Afric*; and in fine, when she alone resisted the combined Fleets of all her Enemies. With regard to the White Flag, borne by the King's Ships, one may justly apply the glorious Saying of *Henry IV.* at the Battle of *Juri*; *If by any Accident you should lose your Standards, be sure to follow the White Plume in my Hat, you will always find it in the way to Victory and Honour.*

The long and glittering Reign of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, furnished the Marine with all the Occasions that could be possibly wished, for distinguishing itself by shewing Courage united to Skill, Briskness in Command, and Quickness in Execution, Fortitude in the midst of Dangers, with the Ability necessary to the getting out of them. The first Efforts of a Marine so well established and so thoroughly strengthened, carried the
 Glory

Glory of the *French* Name into the most distant Countries, and where we could scarce have promised ourselves that it ever should have come. Our Nation began to flatter itself in that moment, that it was superior to all others, or that, at least, it balanced them all, since Marks of Admiration and Respect were paid to it, where its Force could only be known, by the Appearance of its Ships.

Every body knows the Share that the Marine had, and that it certainly deserved to have in that Train of glorious Successes with which the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* was thick sown. Sometimes we enfeebled, by repeated Engagements, the Naval Forces of our Enemies, and for some time hindered their appearing with a Fleet at Sea. It was thus that the great *du Quesne* acted, after the City of *Messina* gave herself to *France*, he twice beat the *Dutch* Fleet, mortally wounded their Admiral *de Ruyter*, and remained sole Master of the *Mediterranean*. Sometimes we carried off immense Treasures, which the Merchant Ships of the Enemy were transporting to the Scales of the *Levant*, witness the Loss the *English* sustained in their *Smyrna* Fleet in 1693, or which they brought from the *East Indies*, of which we have incontestible Proofs in the Prizes taken by *Mess. de Nesmond* and *des Augers*. Sometimes, with very small Forces, we put our Colonies in such a Posture

ture of Defense, as not to apprehend any thing, even from the superior Strength of an Enemy, Admiral *de Ruyter* could not, with 48 Sail, and 3000 Land Troops, make himself Master of the Fort Royal of *Martinico*; or the *English*, with 34 Ships, and 6000 Men, caused the least Prejudice to *Quebec*. Sometimes we carried off entire Fleets of Merchant or Fishing Vessels, and this too in spite of the Vigilance of their Convoys, and the boisterous Weather in the Northern Seas. Such were the Exploits executed by the famous *John du Bart*, the Count *de Fourbin*, the brave *St. Paul*, *Tourouvre*, *Roquefeuil*; the first more fortunate than the rest in this; that he carried off in 1694, a Fleet laden with Corn, at a Time when the Nation suffered by a Famine, and brought them in Triumph into *Dunkirk*. Sometimes we made Descents with that Intrepidity, of which the *French* alone are capable, as when the Marshal *d'Estrees* landed at *Tabago*, where we put under Contribution very strong Towns, or took them by Surprise, as in the case of *Carthagen*a by *Pointis*, and *Rio de Janeiro* by *Gue-Trouin*. Sometimes we punished a Republic excessively rich by its Commerce, proud of its magnificent Palaces, and powerful at Sea, obliging her to make unheard of Submissions, and such as were even contrary to the Constitution of her Government. Sometimes, with an inferior
Number

Number of Ships, we were not afraid to attack numerous Fleets, even such as were double our own, as in the case of *M. Tourville*, who between *Cape la Hogue* and the Point of *Barfleur*, though he had with him no more than fifty Ships of the Line, defended himself against fourscore and eight of the Enemy's Ships, a Battle every way memorable, and in which the Valour of the *French* equalled the Skill they shewed in working their Ships. In fine, the Marine had full Employment under *Lewis XIV.* and if we had employed it still more usefully, there is the greatest Appearance that the War, which happened on *Philip* the Fifth's mounting the Throne of *Spain*, and which occasioned so many Disasters, and so many Revolutions in *Europe*, had never happened at all.

Anthony Perez, a famous *Spanish* Minister, who, during his Disgrace, received the Protection of the *French* Court, and who, willing to shew, that though he was unhappy, yet he did not merit the Title of ingrateful; was wont to say, that to raise this Kingdom to a Superiority over all others, there were only three Things wanting, *Consejo*, *Pelago*, *Roma*, A Sage, an impenetrable Council, a Maritime Force carefully attended to, and no Quarrels or Disputes about Religion. How vast a Sense do these golden Words contain ! How ought they to be studied by
such

such as interest themselves in public Events, and make them Subjects either of Grief or Joy! How ought it to mortify that foolish Pride that despises all antient Rules, and that bitter Zeal, which delights only in disputing and destroying, instead of seeking to bear with, or to enlighten each other!



N

THE



THE
THIRD PART.

I Have endeavoured to make it evident, by what Revolutions the Maritime Power of *France* has, by degrees, arrived at that flourishing State to which *Lewis XIV.* raised it in his Reign. It remains, at present, to shew how easy it is for us to maintain it in the same State, or to restore it, if thro' the means of any Accident it is declined. We have, in that respect, many Advantages that are wanting to other Nations in *Europe*. For I reckon as nothing the *Corsairs* of *Africk*, more proper for a sudden Attack than for a deliberate War; insolent, when one yields to them; Cowards, when attacked; in other respects, sober to the last degree. How contemptible soever the *Turkish* Militia may be, it must however be owned, that they want not, in their first Attack, a very surprizing Ardour, which is, in part, founded in the Opinion they entertain, that all Events fall out necessarily, and that all things yield to an inevitable Fatality.

The

The *French* Flag having, on some Occasions, been insulted by the *Corsairs* of *Barbary*, *Lewis XIV.* who knew how to procure every where that Respect that was due to him, took thereupon an exemplary Vengeance in 1681, the great *du Quesne* pursued, by his Orders, the Vessels of *Tripoli* into the Port of *Scio*, and there, in spite of the Protection given them by the *Turkish* Bashaw, he attacked them without Hesitation, thunder'd on them from all his Artillery, and sunk many to the Bottom. The two Bombardments of *Algier* in 1682 and 1688, rendered the superior Power of *Lewis XIV.* conspicuous in the highest degree. This superb City, after being filled with Murders, Blood, Ruin, and Destruction, demanded humbly a Peace, which they obtained, but upon the hardest Conditions, and such as they remember to this very Day.

As to the Advantages which regard the Marine, and which *France* may find in her own proper Bosom, they may be reduced to four; of which, the first, without Contradiction, is her Situation, the most commodious and the most advantageous that can be in the World, as well for attacking as defending, for disturbing the Commerce of others, as for cultivating her own, sending to all Places, and receiving trading Vessels from all Parts of the Earth. Hence it was said to the late Czar, *Peter I.* whose Head was al-

ways full of vast Projects, and to the King of *Sweden*, *Charles XII.* so unfortunately assassinated before *Fredericshal*, that if any Kingdom could aspire to be the Mistress of all her Neighbours, it must be *France*. In effect, she is placed in the Middle of *Europe*, nothing can impede, nothing can prove an Obstacle to her. She commands, on the one Side, over the Ocean, and it seems by the vast Extent of her Coasts, by their Turnings and Windings, that the Seas of *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Flanders* struggle to pay her Homage; on the other, she is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, looking full upon *Barbary*, having on her right Hand, *Spain*; at her left, *Nice*, *Genoa*, the Dominions of the Grand Duke, and all the rest of *Italy*. What a Situation is this, if we know but how to make use of it, and if opening our Eyes to our Interest, we no longer languish in soft effeminate Idleness.

The *English* and the *Dutch* are forced to strike out far for whatever is necessary to them, and are constrained to put out to Sea, in order to reconnoitre and attack their Enemies; whereas *France* is able to attack them, as it were, hand to hand, to combat with Advantage, and to retire, with Ease, which are Advantages of no small Consequences at Sea, where Dangers are so frequent and so sudden. But what is still more, foreign Vessels that return from long Voyages, worn and

and beaten by the Winds and by the Tempests, foul in themselves, and weakly manned, pass, as it were, under our Eyes, before, in the View, and at the Mercy of *France*, as Cardinal *d'Offat* observes, and in spite of themselves must approach our Coasts. One may easily judge what a Facility this gives, of carrying them off, or, at least, disturbing their Navigation, which must turn, says the same Cardinal, to the Profit and Commodity, to the Safety, Grandeur, and Reputation of the Crown.

As to the rest, all that I have been saying here, is not to cry up, or make the Elogium of War, in order to turn Men's Minds thereto, who have perhaps but too great an Inclination for it already. I know, on the contrary, all the Merit of a gentle and moderate Government, of a Government where Justice and good Faith preside, where all Endeavours are used to drive out the Seeds of Hatred and Jealousy, and where no Pains are spared in the Cultivation of Tranquility and Peace. But to avoid being deceived, says Cardinal *Richlieu*, we must sleep like the Lion, without shutting our Eyes, which ought to be continually open, in order to foresee the smallest Inconveniencies that may happen For hence it is that we so often see in States, that such Evils as were imperceptible in their Origin, and which were least thought of, are the most dangerous,
and

and those which prove of the greatest Consequence in the end.

In effect, a wise Prince, and one who has regard to his Interest, ought to watch attentively over every thing that may contribute to the Service, or to the Prejudice of his Crown. He ought, with the same Vigilance, to weigh daily the present Situation of his own Kingdom, and of the other Kingdoms that surround him. While the Balance continues even, an easy and pleasant Union will certainly reign; but as soon as this fails, Quarrels, Animosities, and Dissentions will arise, and will increase. *France* is too clear sighted ever to be ignorant of the Extent of her Power, and nothing can outrage her more sensibly, than to suspect her being ignorant of it. Always ready to declare War, she ought, however, never to attempt it unjustly, ever in a Condition to defend herself, she should never be in a Disposition to bear Injuries. *Veniendum tunc ad arma*, said *Theodoric*, King of *Italy*, *tum locum apud adversarias Justitia non potest reperire*, i. e. We are then to have recourse to Arms, when Justice no longer finds place amongst our Adversaries.

It is reported, that *Henry III.* imagined one Night that he was in the midst of a Troop of Lions, Tygers, and Leopards ready to devour him; and the next Morning, quite out of his Wits, and terrified about the Consequences

sequences of a Dream, which he ought to have despised, flew to the Castle of *Madrid*, where he kept a great many foreign wild Beasts, and ordered them to be all killed in his Presence. This Tragedy settled his Mind, as idle and ridiculous as it was. Any one might have whispered in his Ear, the Animals that threatened you, were not those in your Menagerie, but, on the contrary, your Neighbours, always disposed to hurt you, and above all, your Maritime Neighbours.

The second Advantage in which we ought to think ourselves happy, is the Security of our Coasts, which in a manner defend themselves, and which have hitherto defeated all the Descents that ever were attempted on them. Witness those that Admiral *Tromp* would have made in 1674, not only at the Mouths of the *Loire* and of the *Groyne*, but along the Coasts of *Bretagne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, and *Guienne*. He found that all was so well guarded, and that every where so good Orders were given, that he durst attempt nothing considerable. Witness again, the Descent attempted by my Lord *Berkley* in 1694, at *Camaret*, in which the *English* lost upwards of 1200 Men, with General *Talmash*, who commanded the Troops that were debarked. The *French*, however, opposed him with no more than two Independent Companies of Marines, and the Militia appointed for the Defence of the Coast.

Piqued

Piqued at this unfortunate Expedition, Lord Berkley attempted several other Descents on *Normandy* and *Flanders*, none which, however, were attended with any better Success.

To this natural Security of our Coasts, which enables us to save a mighty Expence, may be added the Fertility of our Maritime Provinces, as well as those that are washed by the Ocean, a Fertility which renders them extremely agreeable, opulent, and populous, by drawing to them a vast Concourſe of Strangers. All the other Kingdoms of *Europe*, on the contrary, complain of the unlucky Situation of their Coasts. Here they are absolutely barren, and full of Mountains of Sand. There grows nothing that is useful, nothing that comes to Maturity farther off, both Country and People seem alike neglected by Nature. These Kingdoms, however, have an Advantage that is peculiar to them, and which I could almost envy them, it is this, that the Sea washes their principal Cities where the Court makes its Residence, and where we see united all the Politeness attending a Royal Presence, with all the Force that depends on a Maritime Strength. One admires there the Art and Intelligence that is necessary to make the several Parts of so vast a Machine move in regular Order, and in such a manner, as to assist each other, they take by the Hand, if I may be allowed so to say, Riches and Conveniencies from all Quarters,

Quarters, every body interests himself in the Prosperity of Trade, and none are so blind as not to see, none so obstinate not to acknowledge, that upon this depends the Happiness of the State. This is what happens every Day in *Portugal, Muscovy, Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain, and Holland*, of which all the capital Cities stand upon, or very near the Sea. *Paris*, on the contrary, knows nothing of it, but by maimed Relations; and, if I may so speak, Stories at second hand. One sees there a voluntary Indolence throughout, which concerns itself about nothing that does not conduce either to Amusement or to Pleasure; and I am very positive, that as to half the Things that are consumed, and half the Rarities that are admir'd there, they know not by what Country, or by whose Industry they are so obliged.

This Ignorance, which is almost general, of what is produced in our own Country, and what comes from abroad of the Necessaries of Life, or that serve to nourish Laziness, and increase Luxury, affords room for that slight Regard, or rather absolute Contempt, that is had for Navigation and Commerce. But this unjust Contempt would be quickly extinguished, if instead of a sedentary Education, always within the Shadow of the House in which they were born, we took care to make such young People travel, as seem destined, either by their Birth or Fortune,

tune, to the first Places in the Government, if we explain to them exactly all that relates to our Colonies, all that is indispensibly necessary to supply the Wants of this Kingdom, which daily grow more and more, if we instructed them in the principal Manufactures that employ and enrich our several Provinces, and point out to them such as are beginning to decay, and such as, though they are absolutely decay'd, might yet be restored, and brought to be of infinite Benefit to the Kingdom^a, by preventing the going out of great Sums into foreign Parts, if, in fine, one made them perfectly comprehend the three Branches that constitute the Riches of a Kingdom, *viz.* Estates in Land, Trade, and Manufactures, if one shewed them the Connection of these three Branches, and how they ought mutually to prop and to support each other, how the real Effects of any Country augment in Value, in Proportion,

^a It is astonishing, that we are not able, in *France*, to make Linseed Oil. All our Seed, as soon as it's gather'd, is sent away into *Holland*, where it is converted into Oil. They send us other Seed to sow; and this Commerce, which, at first sight, seems so trifling, amounts annually to seven or 800,000 *l.*

“ We borrowed this Art of making Linseed Oil
 “ from the *Dutch*, and it is now exercised with great
 “ Profit in several Parts of *England*. The true Reason why it has not been hitherto introduced in
 “ *France*, I take to be this, that the *French* are but
 “ indifferent Proficients in Wheel-work, and this
 “ Oil is made by a Water-Mill.”

tion, as Commerce and Manufactures, are themselves augmented, and thereby the Circulation of Gold and Silver, which is become the Standard, the common Measure of the Confidence of the Publick, and the Authority of the Sovereign; all this should be laid down in a clear and familiar Method, and in just and evident Calculations, in order to avoid loading the Memory too much. Would not such an Education be infinitely more valuable, than those of which we are at present so fond? Would there not arise from thence both greater Respect for, and greater Profit to the Common Weal?

The third Advantage that *France* enjoys, is, that the most considerable Armaments may be there made with the greatest Readiness and Facility. She not only draws out of her own Stores almost all the Materials requisite to a Maritime Force, but she nourishes also, within the Compass of her Dominions, an infinite Number of able Artificers, capable of employing these Materials in the best manner. There are likewise, amongst these Workmen, some very ingenious Discoveries, very little known abroad, and which having been made at different Times, have passed as a kind of Legacies from Parents to their Children. These Discoveries do not consist in perplex'd Reasonings, but in Experiments and Facts, which suffice for the current Service of the Marine, where,

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generally speaking, it is of far greater Consequence to execute quickly, than to think how a thing may be done nicely, and where whatever is performed by Men's Labour, is preferable to what is done by Machines. The Conclusion of all this Matter is, that we cannot be too careful in preserving this Race of Workmen, whose Industry is perpetual, and increases as it continues; a Race of mean People it's true, but who surpass, in my humble Opinion, the lazy Nobility, who make the Pursuit of Pleasure their sole Occupation; *a Nobility, as M. de Sully says, among whom we find more mongrel Gentlemen, who are fit to make Buffoons, Gamesters, or Porters, than to employ themselves in a generous Way, in carrying Arms for the Service of their King, or the Defence of their Country.*

What I have been saying recalls to my Mind an excellent Remark inserted by *M. Colbert*, with his own Hand, in the Instruction which he caused to be drawn up in 1681, for the dying of Wool of all Colours, and for improving Drugs, and other Materials employed therein: " One cannot look, " says he, on the Fertility of *France*, or see " so great a Number of lazy Fellows, who " fit useless, and with their Arms folded, " while they might be so advantageously " employed either in the Cultivation of the " Earth, or in many other Ways, which

" Nature has pointed out for our Benefit,
 " in order to live at the Expence of the
 " Blood and Substance of others, without
 " blaming the Form of Government, and
 " Negligence of our Ancestors, and their At-
 " tachment to useless Employments, which
 " served only to filled their Heads with Wind
 " and Smoke, and thereby very often pro-
 " duced such Storms and Tempests as went
 " very near destroying the ^b State by the
 " Fury of Civil Wars."

Before the Time of *M. Colbert*, we were
 obliged to bring from *Holland* almost every
 kind of Sea Stores, down to the Iron Work
 for our Anchors, Match, Cordage, Cables rea-
 dy made, Saltpetre, and even Cannon Pow-
 der, as if there had not been in this King-
 dom Forges, Hemp, Iron, Saltpetre, Sul-
 phur, or Men capable of going through hard
 Labour. *M. Colbert* was determined to ba-
 nish foreign Manufactures, and to establish
 Things of this sort at home, upon so much
 better Footing, as that they should quickly
 excel those which we formerly employ'd.
 He farther resolved, that we should extract
 from the natural Riches of the Kingdom,
 whatever it was possible they should pro-
 duce. He created, in *France*, Arts, Taste,
 Genius,

^b The most cruel and the most bloody were those
 excited on account of the new Religion, which was
 introduced into *France* under *Henry II.* and gained
 Ground under his Children, who were too weak to
 oppose it.

Genius, of which, till then, *France* was utterly ignorant; and which she has since carried to so great a Perfection, and with regard to particular Manufactures, he brought from Countries where such Manufactures were in the highest Perfection, Persons who thoroughly understood them settled them in this Kingdom, and whose Posterity, enriched by his Favours, do, even at this day, Honour to his Choice. How much does such an Example deserve to be followed? And how many illustrious Strangers would an obliging Reception bring amongst us?

I must confess, that there some are sorts of Commodities and Merchandizes necessary to the Marine, which only the Northern Countries produce. But it will be always easy for us to provide ourselves with these, by adhering constantly to the two following Precautions; the first, maintaining a close Alliance with one of the three great Powers in the *Baltick*; the second, carrying on all this Trade in our own Bottoms, without ever receiving them at the second or third Hand, without paying Commissions, which are always heavy^c and ruinous.

I

^c There are every Year about seven or 800 Merchant Ships that enter the *Baltick*, of which the best Part are *Dutch*; *France* seldom sends above twenty-five, and most of these go from the single Port of *Dunkirk*.

I shall here take notice of a very sensible Regulation that is observed in *England*, that ought to be regarded, as the Basis of all her Commerce: The *English* themselves are alone permitted to export the Commodities of their own Country, or to import those of foreign Nations. This Practice puts that great Island in continual Motion, and is the Reason that Money never circulates there at a Price considerably above its real Value. It likewise hinders a Spirit of Indolence from communicating itself, and spreading from one to another. That dangerous Spirit more dejecting, through a too quick Sense of Evils, than thoughtful how to repair them, and which proves thereby, in the end, the Ruin of the State. That Connection that there is between all the different Parts of the Society is so close, that it is simply impossible, that a single Person should be hurt, without the rest feeling the Blow.

Though

“ We carry on a very great Trade to the *Baltick*,
 “ and especially to *Muscovy*. If the *Dutch* send thi-
 “ ther more Ships than we, it does not follow that
 “ their Trade is greater, or more beneficial, because
 “ they are tied down to bring all their Naval Stores
 “ from thence; I mean, from the *Baltick*, as we
 “ were before the Year 1703, when, upon an At-
 “ tempt made by the *Swedes* to monopolize some of
 “ their Commodities, it was resolved to import Na-
 “ val Stores from our own Plantations, from whence
 “ we have, at this Day, very great Quantities, as
 “ well as of Hemp and Flax, for which we formerly
 “ sent to the Northern Countries, as other Nations
 “ still do.

Though the Times were then very perilous and difficult, yet we were not altogether ignorant of the Value of such a Custom, even in the Days of *Charles IX.* In effect, that Prince, supported by an Ordinance of *Henry II.* his Father prohibited, about the middle of the Year 1567, all his Subjects to freight any foreign Ships, and all Foreigners exporting *French* Commodities in any other than *French* Bottoms, under Pain of Confiscation. Salt only was excepted, on account of the prodigious Sale that was then made of that Commodity, a Sale which is much sunk since the *Hollanders*, and other People of the *North*, have thought fit to purchase it in *Portugal*, and to be content with the sort that Country yields. Will it be believed, that the cutting^d off so antient and so

^d It is impossible to inveigh too bitterly, in *France*, against the Financiers, and all who have to do with the Revenue, who ruin every Thing in the End, and so hurt Manufactures and Trade, which ought to be favoured, as if they intended nobody should get any Thing in the Country, where they dwell, but themselves.

“ Our Author’s Reflections upon this Subject, are
 “ very just, These Blood-Suckers of the Revenue,
 “ destroy Trade and Industry wherever they come.
 “ It ought to be the Business of every Government
 “ to raise Taxes on their Subjects, at as cheap a Rate
 “ as possible ; because nothing so soon estranges the
 “ Hearts of People from a Government, as an Apprehension that they pay more for it than it is
 “ worth, or they can afford. For this Reason, the
 “ People in *France* rejoice at the Ruin of such Families
 “ lies

so valuable a Branch of Commerce, which Cardinal *Richlieu* esteemed more than the *Spanish Indies*, is owing to nothing but certain ill calculated Duties, to which we have endeavoured to subject it? What Happiness! could this Kingdom be brought once to understand, that every Operation in favour of the Revenue, which hurts Commerce, is mischievous in itself, and that with regard to Commodities that are indispenibly necessary to Life, the Consumption is always proportionable to the Duties imposed upon them?

The only Remark that can be made; in support of this, regards the Want we begin to feel in *France*, of all sorts of Wood fit to be employ'd in Building. Neither ought this Observation to be confined only to that sort of Wood, but to all others, that serve either for Carpenters, Makers of Carriages, or even which is destined to the Fire. These last are particularly grown, almost every where, excessively scarce, and prodigiously dear. Forges, Glass-Houses, the Luxury of great Cities, the too great Curiosity exercised about dressing good Cheer, have consumed prodigious Quantities, and we have taken no Care to re-
place

“ lies as have acquired vast Estates by the Revenue;
 “ though they get nothing by their Destruction, yet,
 “ however severe, it hath so much the Appearance
 “ of Justice, that it is impossible to hinder the Po-
 “ pulace from taking a Pleasure in it.”

in their Offices, on a Supposition of their inheriting their Virtues, took the Title of [†] *Foresters*. This Title was principally in Vogue under the second Race of our Kings, and we are assured, that *Charlemagne* was the first who bestowed that Title, and that he conferred on a *Saxon* Lord, who settled himself in *Flanders*, the Coasts of which were then altogether naked, and exposed to the Incursions of the *Danes*. It is very probable, that these great *Foresters* performed the Functions of a sort of Officers, who began to be known in the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine*, under the Titles of *Comites litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, of *Comitas Cimbrici & Batavici litoris*, of *Duces tractus Aremoricani*, &c. These Officers were very powerful, and acknowledged none for their Superiors but the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Gauls*; they were equally charged to look to the Safety of the Coasts, and to the Preservation of the Forests, Castles, and other Edifices, which stood in, or near the Coasts.

The

[†] See *Recueil des Rois de France, leur Couronne, & Maison*, &c. par *Jean du Tillet*.

“ This Book was first printed at *Paris*, in *Quarto*,
 “ in 1618, and has been always esteemed a very valuable Work. There is a long Dedication prefixed;
 “ to *Charles IX.* and in it we find the Seals of all the
 “ *French Kings*, and an infinite Number of Titles of
 “ *Treaties, Homages, and other public Papers*; and
 “ in order to make the Work more useful, the Author has added a short Chronological History of
 “ *France*, which is equally accurate and entertaining.
 “ pag.

The celebrated *John du Tillet*, first Secretary to the Parliament of *Paris*, observes, that the Word *Forest* is derived from an old *Low Dutch* Term, which signifies Rivers as well as Woods. He cites, in support of this, several authentick Charters, which are still preserved in the Archives of the *Palais*; amongst the rest, one by which *Childebert* founding the Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*, yields to it all his Rights on the River *Seine*, as he then held them, adding, as the same *Tillet* observes, and as they were his Forest. The true Signification of which Term, is certainly to be learned from hence, that antiently all the Banks and Shores, indeed all the Places adjacent to the Sea, and to Rivers, were filled with Trees; and as they were first inhabited, grub'd up and cultivated, they bestowed the Name of *Forest* equally on all Places where Wood and Water were joined. The Neighbourhood retained its Denomination after it became more peopled. But by degrees, as Inhabitants began to increase, and Barbarism gave way to softer Manners, to more polish'd Conversation, and to Pleasures, Towns were formed, Arts were introduced, and the Conveniencies of Life were refined and improved every Day. It was necessary to sacrifice to these Uses a great Quantity of Wood, in order to give People, if we may so speak, room to breathe. Hence it came to pass, that, preserving a few
Trees

Trees for Ornaments, they cut down all the rest, without reflecting that a very transitory Satisfaction would induce frequent and grievous Fits of Repentance. In effect, the common Complaint throughout almost every Part of the Kingdom is, that there is no Wood left, or at least, that the People are ruined by the Expence of its Carriage.

The late Marquis *Seignelai*, whose Views extended to Futurity, had formed a Design of causing all the Sea Shore to be planted with Timber fit for Ship-Building. I don't know what Obstacle hindered that Design, which was undoubtedly worthy the most clear-sighted Ministry. It may be that, after mature Deliberation, *M. de Seignelai* began to distrust the *French* Genius, always ready to seize, with Ardour, new Schemes, and to abandon them afterwards out of pure Distaste. He was afraid that a Project, which required an Age, or an Age and a half, to bring it to Perfection, would appear a chimerical Project. For the Bulk of our Nation, through a Rapidity and Intemperance of Taste, would have us propose, and execute, at the same time, and would have Invention and Perfection appear almost together. Works that require great Application, says Cardinal *Richlieu*, are little agreeable to our Humour, or natural Disposition.

The last Advantage respects the Order of Government; and, in one word, the whole System

System of our Marine. The different Usages, Regulations, and Employs, and all sorts of Labours, are disposed in such a Manner, that they enter into, and corroborate each other, so as to afford mutual Assistance. We have nothing to fear from what gave so much Uneasiness to the famous Duke *de Sully*, when he became Superintendant of the Finances. As he found himself stopp'd at every turn by a Heap of useless Formalities, Disputes, and very ill-founded Remonstrances, he could not help saying, in a brisk Tone, which exceedingly became him, "great Kingdoms are not governed by Slips of Paper, "Skins of Parchment, Strokes of a Penknife, "Scratches of a Pen, vain Words, or, in short, "by Imaginations, Fancies, Shrugs and Grumaces." The Aim of this Minister was to quicken, and to render more simple the Operations of the Treasury; and he was justly afraid, that a long Train of Formalities, and round-about Methods, should render the most essential, and decisive Parts of all Affairs less attended to. In regard to the Marine, it is divided into two Corps, who are so perfectly well acquainted with their respective Privileges and Prerogatives, as to observe one another with some degree of Jealousy, and to put each other reciprocally in mind of their Duty; and while one of these Corps devotes itself to the Fatigues of War, and distinguishes itself by its Firmness and Bravery on
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the most shining and perilous Occasions; the other, more tranquil in appearance, saves it a thousand Cares, and a thousand Inquietudes, which would consume that Body to no purpose. Courage begins to grow cold, when deprived of its Liberty of Acting in its full Extent, or when depress'd by many important Cares. It wants only favourable Occasions to appear and distinguish itself. At least, this is what the great *M. Turenne* believed, especially in the latter Part of his Life, and which he generously express'd, with a Frankness and Confidence worthy of so great a Man. *I have, said he, only one thing to do, which is to conquer. Choisi has put all the frontier Places into a State of Defence, du Metz takes care of the Artillery, and Jacquier makes it his Business to prevent my ever suffering for want of Victuals.*

And since I have been speaking of *M. Turenne*, give me leave to report a fine Saying of his in 1665, to *Lewis XIV.* who asked him in Confidence, "What would be proper to be done, in case *Philip IV.* of *Spain*, who was very ill, should happen to die?" *M. de Turenne* answer'd, upon the Spot, "In that case, Sire, the Augmentation of your Ships of War, and Galleys, would be of as great Utility as the Increase of your Land Troops, as well in respect to what the King of *Spain* has in the *Indies*, in *Italy*, and in *Sicily*, as with regard to *Spain* itself, the

" En-

“ Entrance of which lies fair and open by the
 “ way of *Portugal*.” An Answer like this,
 appears to me decisive; and if we had rea-
 soned in this manner when the Crown of
Spain devolved on a Branch of the House
 of *Bourbon*, all had ended well, and we had
 brought *England* and *Holland*, joined together,
 to the last Extremity, by weakening their
 Trade. I will add further, that, tho’ in virtue
 of his Rank as Marshal General of the Camps
 and Armies of the King, *M. de Turenne*
 ought to have given his Advice only in that
 sort of War of which was properly his Pro-
 vince; yet, such was the Extent of his Ge-
 nius, and so quick his Apprehension of Truth,
 as enabled him to discern, that there were
 certain Occasions in which a Maritime Power
 alone ought to be employ’d, and where one
 Victory at Sea is of equal Value to a long
 Series of Victories obtained by Land, the very
 Perfection of Policy is to know how to en-
 ter into these Differences, which are sure to
 escape superficial Minds.

I return to the established Order in the
 Marine of *France*, and I must confess, that
 that which distinguishes it in a particular
 manner is, that Military Corps of which it is
 composed, and which has an Air of Dig-
 nity, which diffuses itself over all its Parts.
 Considered in this Light, there is not one in
Europe, which ought not to yield to it with
 Reverence. The Character of the Maritime
 Q Power

Power of the *Dutch*, is Oeconomy; and that of the Maritime Force of the *English*, is Activity. The first, according to the Republican Genius, place all Honour in saving, and direct all their Views this way. Whatever should contribute to the Strength or Security of their Ships, they pare off to save Charges, as far as possible, and, by repeated Endeavours this way, they expose their Vessels to frequent Shipwrecks. I lay it down as a thing pretty certain, that, for want of these necessary Precautions, the *Dutch* lose a Third of the Ships they equip every Year. As for the *English*, who are more judiciously covetous, they more than recover by Quickness and Diligence, what they lay out in extraordinary Expences. One of their Ships makes as many Trips in four Months, as a *Dutchman* can in five, or even in six; and there is certainly no kind of Profit more real, or more certain, than that which arises from the Shortness of Campaigns, or of Voyages at Sea. The *French* hold a middle Character, as it were, between these two. Without having the Oeconomy of the *Dutch*, or the Activity of *English*, they surpass them, without Difficulty, in the Arrangement and Exactness of their Service, they have gained by this I know not what Title, the Superiority and Empire.

But

But there happens from hence sometimes, two Inconveniencies. The first is, *that we think ourselves obeck'd, as the Marquis de Montluc says, if we don't march with all the Attendance of a Prince, and yet this sometimes leads us into great Inconveniencies. It is better to move like a private Gentleman, and not to play the Prince, than by straining things to a great Heighth, to run the Hazard of bringing upon oneself some Mischief.* The second, that, thro' too great Attention to the procuring every thing necessary, we sometimes go too far, and provide also for Superfluities; so that by an Excess of Prudence, we fall short in Expedition. However, it is frequently necessary to dispatch, for Success depends on a certain degree of Boldness, and not seldom on a single Stroke. *In great Affairs, says Cardinal d'Ossat, in a Letter to M. Villeroy, in order to avoid a great Evil, or to gain a great good, one must venture, and put something to the Risk, and resolve at once, and, without delay, to get out of a bad Situation in the briskest and quickest manner possible.*

It is easy to judge, from what I have been saying, that *French Vessels* ought, in general, to be better armed, and better equipp'd, than those of all other Nations. In them, there is nothing wanting, as to what is requisite for the Campaign, or for the Preservation of the Seamen and Soldiers embark'd. For in

our Marine, we know perfectly well the Value of Men's Lives, and esteem it the highest Point of Prudence to take all the Care that is possible for preserving them.

There is still more than all this, we have in *France*, as it were, an entire Nation, who, exempt from all other Charges and Impositions, apply themselves entirely to, and think of nothing else but Sea Affairs. Their Course of Life is, undoubtedly, very thorny and laborious. But as they are bred to it from their Infancy, and as they are pleased, by a continual Variety of Objects, they accustom themselves to it by little and little, and pass from one Campaign to another, almost without perceiving it: These People, with all this, are infinitely brave; of *Iron*, in Point of Labour, of *Steel*, in Point of Courage, as *Cæsar* says of the Ancient *Gauls*. They attempt, besides Things astonishing, and, in respect to which, nothing but an Apprenticeship ^s could have dimi-

^s The Classes of the Marine, are one of the finest Establishments in the Kingdom, and, at the same time, one of the most useful and advantageous. Mr. *Arnoux* and *Bonrepos*, Intendants of the Marine, established them, though, as it but too often happens, the Prime Minister run away with the Credit.

“ These Classes, that our Author talks of, are no
 “ other than the enrolled Seamen in *France*; and
 “ this was first fixed, by an Ordinance, dated 22
 “ *Sept.* 1668; the Seamen were then divided into
 “ three Classes, of which one was obliged to serve
 “ annually on board the King's Ships, and the other
 “ two were at Liberty to serve the Merchants. They
 “ have

diminished, in their Eyes, the Peril and the Risk. It is true that our Seamen have one disadvantageous Quality, which is, that, on the slightest Discontent, they withdraw, and go into Foreign Service: But this Fault, however, is not singular in them, it is, indeed, the Fault of the whole Nation, curious after Novelties, and full of vain Caprice, they often quit the Kingdom. Hence it is, that one, every where, sees *Frenchmen*, and that we find them fighting, under every Banner, *Nullum bellum sine milite Gallo*.

Behold the principal Advantages of which *France* has a Right to boast, and which she cannot neglect, but to her Shame, and to her Prejudice. Her Situation is such, that I repeat it again, all the Nations of *Europe* cannot help looking upon her with an Eye of Jealousy. It may be, that I shall have an Objection started to me here, of little Solidity indeed, but which, notwithstanding, has^h dazzled, and misled many Persons of Merit. “ A Maritime Power, say they, with
 “ Disdain, however useful, however beneficial it may be supposed at Bottom, draws
 “ after it too great an Expence, and has too
 ruinous

“ have been since distributed into five Classes. In
 “ the Year 1681 there were 60,000 Men enrolled.”

^h There are People, says *Amelot de la Houffaye*, who pretend to maintain, that there ought to be in *France* only Soldiers and Labourers, without saying one Word of Trade or Manufactures. Would to God that this Maxim may be buried with those who first invented it !

“ ruinous a Train at its Heels, consequently it ought rather to be abandoned, on account of the immense Sums it must cost, than preserved for the sake of the Profits that may from it ensue.”

To this Objection, which they endeavour to render so much the stronger, by many affected Computations, I shall offer three Things, in Answer, which are not only very weighty, but altogether decisive, and I hope they will strike the Reader in so forcible a manner, as to leave him no Inclination to demand any farther, or more ample Explication.

In the first place, it is true, that the Marine demands Expence, and even Expences that are pretty large. But what Part of Government, what Branch of the State does not demand them? Can one sustain a War, can one adjust the Management of the Revenue, can one give a proper Air of Magnificence to the King's Household, can one secure the good Will, or entertain Correspondences with Foreign Nations, without having, in one's Hands, considerable Sums of Money, and disposing of them in a proper manner, and as Necessity requires? *In great Affairs*, says the Cardinal de Retz, *one ought never to regard Money. A Sovereign is too Rich, while discovering a Noble Courage, a Greatness of Soul, quick Parts, and strong Penetration, even in his most trivial Actions, he favours the*
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Commerce, and Manufactures of his Subjects.

Before him, the Cardinal *de Richlieu* had remarked, " That he ought to be careful in
 " laying up Money to supply the Necessities
 " of the State, and religiously exact in pre-
 " serving them, when no Occasions offered
 " for laying them out, but that he ought to
 " be equally liberal in employing them,
 " whenever the Good of the Publick re-
 " quired it, and to do it in Time, and in
 " proper Measure, otherwise any Retard-
 " ment, on such Occasions, costs the State,
 " very often, extremely dear, by making it
 " lose Opportunities that never are to be re-
 " covered."

Besides, if, for maintaining the Marine, it is requisite to be continually advancing Money, and providing Things long beforehand, I dare aver, that the Marine will indemnify with Usury, and not be at all slow in paying. Is it not that, that protects and enlivens Trade, both at Home and Abroad? Is it not that, that secures all our Traders, all our Merchants, who are dispersed through all the different Parts of the World; that preserves them, in the midst of the *Grand Signior's* Dominions, from Pillages and Insults, to which they would be, otherwise, subject; that procures them Capitulations, and valuable Privileges on the Coast of *Barbary*, and in the Scales of the *Levant*, and enables them to sail, in Safety, wherever the *French*
 Flag

Flag hath appeared? Is it not that which, in a Time of War, keeps off the Enemies from our Coasts, which would be otherwise ravaged, and preserves a free Passage for the Navigation between one Maritime Province to another; in a word, is it not that which so amply fills the Coffers of our Kings, and that which gives their Subjects so favourable an Opening for discharging their Superfluities, by sending into foreign Countries the Fruits of their Harvest, or of their Industry? The Abbey *de St. Pierre* has observed, in one of his Political Memoirs, that the Balance of our Commerce with Foreigners, amounts to, at least, One Hundred and Fifty Millions a Year, (that is, about 7,000,000 Sterling,) which makes, one Month with another, Twelve Millions and a half; is it not the Maritime Power that preserves this Balance, and by preserving it, sustains our Credit, always on the Point of falling, through the Jealousy of our Neighbours.

Secondly, if Cardinal *de Richlieu* thoroughly understood the thing, and has not carried it too far in his *Political Testament*, we ought to agree, that the principal Riches of a State is its Reputation, *so important to a great Prince, that it is impossible to propose to him any Advantage that can in any degree compensate the Loss of it.* But how is that Reputation to be acquired and preserved, that Reputation,

tion, I say, which *Machiavel* look'd upon to be so necessary to all Sovereigns, that he called it *The Apple of their Eyes*? How can a Prince ever reckon on his Fame, or suppose that it should force Strangers, delicate as to Point of Honour, to acknowledge his Superiority, the same Cardinal *de Richlieu* has pointed out two Methods equally noble and sure; the first is, to entertain, in all Courts, Ambassadors, whose Birth, Conduct, Train, and Expence, may do honour to the Master who employs them; the other, to seize, with the utmost Briskness, whatever has the least Tendency to increase the Domaine of the Marine; to cause considerable Squadrons to be yearly fitted out, and to let them rendezvous regularly every Year at certain Places, such as *Cadix*, *Genoa*, before *Algiers*, at *Copenhagen*, and in the Passage of the Sound. It is there, so to speak, where all the Nations of *Europe* assemble, and where it is proper to strike their Eyes, by the Appearance of strong Squadrons. 'Tis there that a Prince, who has a good Reputation, does more by the bare Interposition of his Name, than others can do, who are less esteemed, with all their Menaces and Intrigues. I do not speak of still more numerous Squadrons, that it may be convenient to equip from time to time, and to send to *America*, and into the *East Indies*, it suf-

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sices me to repeat here what that great Minister, whom I before cited, has said, that *nothing is more indispensable to a State, than its Reputation, the Diminution of which, however slighted it be, may prove a Step to create an unlucky Disposition towards its absolute Declension.*

In the third place, if there be any Excess in the Marine, if things relating thereto are sometimes pushed too far, it is not that which ought to be accused, but the present System of Affairs in this Kingdom, in which, to say the Truth, we scarce distinguish any thing that looks like Frugality, Oeconomy, or Disinterestedness. All things are now executed at a vast Expence, and all we do is swallowed up in Pomp and Decoration, private Interest, in most Men's Minds, overbalances the Loveⁱ of public Good, and that Regard which is due to their Country. Happy the Hand, who shall establish things in their natural Situation! happy the Age in which there shall be seen a Nobility accustomed, from their very Infancy, to a Masculine and Generous Virtue, above little Interests, despising frivolous Occupations, and even

ⁱ *Patriæ rem unusquisque, non suam, augere debet. Melius est enim pauper in divite, quam dives in pauperi imperio versari.* Val. Max. lib. 4. i. e. A Man ought to study to augment the Public Stock, not his own. For it is much better to be poor under a rich Government, than to be rich under a poor one.

even Life itself, when opposed, to the Grandeur of their Sentiments. *I would shew, says the M. de Montluc, to those whom I leave behind me, that I am this Day the oldest Captain in France, that I never sought Repose, but endeavoured to acquire Honour by doing Service to the Kings, my Masters, which was the sole End and Aim of my Life, flying all those Pleasures and Delights which turn out of the Road of Virtue and true Greatness, young Men, whom God hath endowed with commendable Parts, and who are on the Point of Advancement.*

In regard to Frugality, it is more necessary to Soldiers, than to any other sort of Men. Is it not then shameful, while their Life is thick strown with Risks and Hazards, to be thinking how they may invent new Delights, and pique themselves on refining Luxury and Pleasure? An Emperor was, heretofore, treated as loose and effeminate, because, after his Death, a Looking-Glass was found in his Tent. What an Example this of Roman Austerity? Charles V. being once on the point to take the Field, the Townsmen of *Antwerp* and *Bruges* went to make him a Present of *Flemish* Pictures, of infinite Value, in which were represented *Bachanalian* Sports, Marriages, and Country Feasts. The Emperor, who scarce deigned to look upon them, putting on a serious Air, said, *Carry*

back your Presents, they don't by any means suit me, I see nothing in them but * Cramming.

I ought not to forget here, a Question that hath been often handled among the *English*. They enquire whether the Gentry are fitter for Maritime Service than Soldiers of Fortune, who have nothing to subsist on, but their Merit and their Experience? and, with them, it seems to be decided in favour of the latter. *It is true, according to Cardinal de Richlieu, that all Men being equal by Nature, must suffer, with Regret, that Difference which Protection and Riches put between them. It is also true, that many, who are obliged to give way, blame, with Reason, those who command them to shew, that though they are inferior to them in Power, yet, in Merit, they surpass them.*

But without weighing critically what perhaps belongs, in a peculiar manner, to *England*, I shall only say, that, in *France*, the Marine has gained considerably since it has been composed of select Youths, and of Officers chosen out of the best Families. It is not that I would exclude certain Men, who may be said to be privileged, and who indemnify themselves from an obscure Birth,
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* Our Kings have often endeavoured, though to very little purpose, to repress, during a War, the Expence and Sumptuousness of Tables, of which *Tacitus* speaks well, when he calls them *Luxoriosos apparatus conviviorum & irritamenta libidinum*.

by a Display of Talents superior to any Birth. I willingly compare them to that *Plebeian*, so famous in the *Roman* History, and to whose Speech I will give a Place here, in order to humble those who want every thing but Birth.

“ I cannot indeed, *said he*, expose to the
 “ Eyes of the Publick, the Portraits, the
 “ Triumphs, or the Consulats of my An-
 “ cestors. But if you incline to see them,
 “ I can produce abundance of Pikes, Stan-
 “ dards, Horse-Harness, and other Military
 “ Rewards, besides many Wounds. These
 “ are my Charters, these are my Nobility,
 “ which it is true I have not received from
 “ my Fathers, but have purchased, by my
 “ own proper Toils, and at the Expence of
 “ my Blood. There is nothing of Deceit
 “ in my Words, that is a kind of Art with
 “ which I am absolutely unacquainted. Vir-
 “ tue is best seen and distinguished by her
 “ own Light. Let those who have been
 “ wanting to their Honour, and have com-
 “ mitted base and scandalous Actions, seek
 “ to varnish them over by the Pomp of
 “ their Discourses; for my part, I never
 “ learn’d the Sciences of the *Greeks*, which
 “ I don’t see have render’d either wiser or
 “ more virtuous many of those who boast
 “ of being well versed in them. But I have
 “ learned what the Republic ought to ad-
 “ vise, and to approve; to attack the Enemy,
 “ to

“ to succour speedily such as are under my
 “ Orders, to fear nothing but Infamy, to
 “ brave, by turns, the scorching Heat of
 “ Summer, and the Winter’s pinching Cold,
 “ to lie upon the Ground ; and, in fine, to
 “ suffer all that is most tedious or tiresome
 “ in War.”

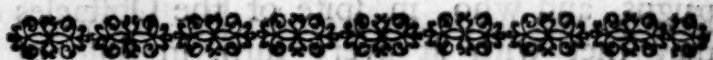
Nobility, without doubt, owes its Splendor to fair and generous Actions ; but as it degenerates every Day, ought we to complain that such Actions are revived, and appear in other Men. The Nobility brigue and intrigue, in order to acquire Charges and Employments, without ever thinking how to merit, or how to execute them. What Madness in these vain Men ! their Ancestors have left them, it’s true, all that depended on them, Riches, great Names, and shining Titles ; but they have not left them personal Merit, that lay beyond the Extent of their Power. That alone they could not communicate, that alone is the thing not hereditary. They say that I am a brutish Fellow, and without the least Tincture of good manners, because I am ashamed to own a Player for my Companion, disdain either shewy or effeminate Pleasures, and give less Wages to my Cook, than to any other of my Domesticks. What mighty Crimes ! and yet they are all mine.

I thought this Elogium due to several Officers of great Merit, who have rendered the
 Marine

Marine illustrious, by so many happy Campaigns, and who, in spite of the Obstacles they met with at every turn, in spite of their Rivals, who seem to block up their Way to Preferment, have acquired it notwithstanding, and that too with the highest Applause; such, even in late times, was *M. de Gué-Trouin*, as much distinguished by his undaunted Bravery, as by his superior Capacity, who exposed himself rapidly and boldly to all sorts of Dangers, even to those which he had not foreseen, and which his Intrepidity seemed to ward off, by not suffering them to confound him.



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THE FOURTH PART.

AS it is not impossible that, in the Progress of this Discourse, some Passages may appear less plain, and less intelligible than might be expected, I will endeavour to enlighten them a little, in order to prevent any Doubts from remaining on the Minds of my Readers, of whom, I fear there are but few who are well acquainted with this Matter.

The Marine may be considered in two different Lights, either as it relates to the King, or with respect to private Persons. The former has, properly speaking, nothing else in view, but War, the Reputation of the Nation, and the Security of Commerce; the latter is employed about Trade alone, which excites and employs its Attention and Industry. These two Marines have each their distinct Functions, a great Number of Orders and Regulations, which hinder them from digressing, and from starting out of their just Bounds. The first, strictly speaking, labours only for the sake of the Glory
and

and Honours that follow in its Train; the second has nothing in view, but Profit and immense Returns; but these are always bounded by the Laws of the most exact Probity, and contribute, at the same time, to the Plenty and Happiness of the Public. It is by these means, that Commerce sometimes distinguishes itself in such a manner, as to procure the justest Titles to Nobility. Thus it is that it elevates Men useful to their Country, who make it known by its Reputation abroad, and who encourage its Cultivation at home.

Such was the famous *Como de Medicis*, who having secured almost a universal Commerce, having entertained Correspondencies and Alliances with all the Princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, merited at last to be set at the Head of his Fellow Citizens; and as happy Events seemed chained to each other, his Posterity not only maintained themselves upon the Throne, but allied themselves also to the most ancient Houses in *Europe*, and have given Successors to *St. Peter*; such were the *Fuggers* or *Fouckers* of *Germany*, who having lent immense Sums to the Emperor *Charles V.* in order to thank him for the Honour he did them, by lodging at their House, when he came to *Ausburg*, placed a Cedar Faggot in his Chimney, and desired him to light it with his own Bonds, an Act of Generosity so much the more agreeable to

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Charles

Charles V. as his Coffers were very empty at that Time. Such, to mention one amongst ourselves, was the famous *James Coœur*, the Confident and Banker of *Charles VII.* who having experienced, at Court, such a Reverse of Fortune, as generally attends an honest Man there, retired out of the Kingdom, and withdrew into the Island of *Cyprus*, where, by his Commerce, he acquired such immense Wealth, as to be able, in his own Name, and at his own Expence, to arm against the *Mahometans*, and even to give them Battel, in which he succeeded, beyond what a private Man could hope. . *But this private Man*, says one of his Cotemporaries, *gained more, every Year, than all the rest of the Merchants in the Kingdom.* After his Disgrace, *James Coœur* took the Title of Captain General of the Church against the Infidels, which he supported with a Grandeur of Soul, and at an Expence truly Royal.

Every Body knows the several Establishments of the Marine in *France*, every one knows, at least in the gross, what Pains, what Labour, what vast Sums of Money they have cost, how many experienced Arts and Artizans have been drawn together, all of them, in point of Curiosity, as well as Utility, worthy the particular Attention even of such as are used to, and well versed in, these sort of Things. These Establishments are likewise remarkable, by a great Number of Officers of all Ranks,

Ranks, placed in such a Relation to each other, as that their Subordination assists, and never prejudices their Duty, and as, in the Marine, there are three principal Objects, that, by turns, command and employ all their Care, so these Officers are divided into three Classes, who have, indeed, different Parts assigned them, but who, by their Discharge of their several Duties, contribute all to one great End.

The first Object of the Marine is, as it were, a Prologue to the rest, and consists in assembling the Materials that are proper in sorting, and in disposing them, so as to render them applicable, with the greatest Ease, to all the Uses of Navigation. These Preliminaries relate to the viewing, purchasing large Falls of Timber, and appropriating them to their proper Uses, on the Knowledge, Buying and Sorting, an infinite Number of all kinds of Commodities, on the manner of employing them, and drawing the greatest Utility from them, in the Construction, Careening, and Equipment of Vessels, one discerns, at first Sight, that, to be Master in this Art, there is required a judicious Mixture of Theory and Practice, joined to a very extensive Genius, perfected by a constant Experience. Hence it is that we have never had, in the Marine, but two Intendants of consummate Abilities, viz. *Desclouseaux* and *Vauvre*, both chosen by *M. de Seignelai*, both of them Men of elevated Genius, who had high Conceptions, and who never considered Difficulties in any other

Light than as Steps conducive to the Glory of surmounting them.

The second Object comprehends the Management of the different Branches of Duty on Board, and the Conduct of Ships at Sea, or Navigation, strictly and properly taken, and this supposes two Parts, *viz.* the Art of Piloting, and of Working; the first respects the Use of the Compass, Maritime Charts, Instruments for taking the Height of Celestial Bodies, or for measuring the Ship's Run, with the Rules and Conjectures necessary to make a good Estimate. The other regards the Management of the Sails, and of the Helm, as well with Regard to her Course, as to the Advantages that may be obtained from the Winds, and from Currents, and in respect to the Ship's driving or altering her Course through their Force^a. How many Opportunities are there here for exercising all the Faculties of the human Soul !

The last Object of the Marine seems only to comprehend what is Accessary, and yet this, by little and little, comes to be considered as the principal Part. The Accessary consists in certain Forms and Methods, which are settled in

^a Mr. Pitot, one of the Members of the *Royal Academy of Sciences*, has given us an excellent Work on that Subject, which far exceeds any hitherto publish'd.

“ The Book mentioned by our Author, justly deserving the Encomiums he gives of it, has lately been translated into *English*. The Title is, *The Theory of working Ships applied to Practice, containing the Principles and Rules for Sailing with the greatest Advantage possible*.

in every Port, in order to bring all Expences to a just Account, fixing the Estimate, Muster-Rolls, and other things of a like nature, and in short, what is called keeping the Ship's Books. It is true, that, generally speaking, these things are necessary and useful, especially in providing against Frauds and Abuses, and yet it may be that even these Frauds and Abuses had better be borne with, than the tedious and troublesome Parade of Formalities invented to get rid of them.

To these three Classes answer three Sorts of Officers, who keep themselves each to his Province, and never pretend to carry their Views farther. This is all that is expected at this time of Day. So that every Profession is bounded, and any one of them is thought sufficient for the Exercise of one Man's Capacity. The Example of the *Romans*, who had a general and comprehensive Genius, which enabled them to embrace the whole Circle of this Science, is by us considered as fabulous.

This is, in gross, what concerns the Royal Marine. As to the Marine in the Hands of private Persons, it is distributed through, and flourishes in, all the Maritime Provinces of the Kingdom, where it is more or less distinguished; *1st*, According to the Degree of Fortune, Ability, and Industry of those concerned in it. *2^{dly}*, In Proportion to the Quantity of Gold or Silver that circulates, *3^{dly}*, According to the critical Circumstances which increase or diminish, quicken or retard

tard this Circulation. Hence it is, that the same Places are not always equally powerful, or possessed of an equal Share of Trade. Repose and Inaction frequently succeed the greatest Hurry, sometimes also that Luxury which follows Riches at the Heels, as they again are produced by Trade; that Luxury, I say, creates such a Dissipation of Wealth, that, before it is well seen, it vanishes away. Upon this Subject I will just mention one of those happy Observations that every body makes, and no body minds. Most Part of our Traders burn with vehement Desire of growing Rich; to do this, they spare neither Pains nor Labour, but run all Hazards, and endure all Toil, to attain this End. But when they are once become excessively Rich, by all their Assiduity and Fatigues, they think of nothing but procuring pompous Titles, and noble Alliances, of which they find just Cause to repent every Vein of their Hearts: They are despised and slighted, while they foolishly consume what, with such infinite Labour, they acquired. There cannot be then any Thing more useful, for exciting and recompensing judicious and able Traders, than to teach them that sensible Maxim of the Author of *Oeconomies Royal and Politic*; viz. "To banish entirely Luxury and Superfluity, all sorts of Excesses and Extravagancies, in Dress, Jewels, Feasts, Building, Gilding, Coaches, Horses, Servants, Equipage, and the Marriages of Sons and Daughters."

“ters.” Whence their Ruin is drawn on, and thereby a wide Gap opened in Society.

Commerce by Sea is carried on in three different Ways, the least considerable is that from one Port or Creek to another, and which is called *Cabotage*, or *Coasting*; it serves principally for maintaining a constant Correspondence between all the Maritime Provinces of the Kingdom, by supplying from one what is wanting in another. This Commerce is so much the more advantageous in *France*, because it encourages Industry, and may be carried on with equal Ease and Safety in almost all Seasons of the Year; whereas in the Northern Countries in *England*, and even in *Holland*, they are blocked up the best Part of the Winter by the Ice, which hems in their Vessels, and exposes them to greater Inconveniencies by unexpected Shocks when at Sea. *France* is, besides, much less exposed to sudden Inundations of the Sea, and there happen fewer Ship-Wrecks on its Coasts, than on those of other Countries, though even its Coasts are not every where free from Danger.

The second kind of Maritime Commerce is, that which is carried on throughout *Europe*, and comprehends those real and effectual Succours which one Country lends another, and by which all its several Kingdoms become reciprocally useful.

These

These Succours consist either in the Products of their Soil, in the Works of Manufacturers, or in Curiosities ; and it is easy to discern, that the better any Kingdom is stocked with these, the more Strangers will resort thereto, and the more Trade will flourish. The two Branches, of which it is composed in all Countries, are, as I have said, the Product of a fruitful Soil, and the Labours of an industrious People.

France, in her Hemp and Flax from *Bretagne*, in the Salts of *Broüage*, of *Marennes*, and of *Croisie* ; in the Red Wines of *Bordeaux*, in the White Wines of *Anjou*, in the Brandies of *Nantes*, of *Cognac*, and the Isle of *Ré* ; in the Papers of *Auvergne*, and of *Angoulême* ; in the Parchments of *Normandy*, and the Gold and Silver Brocades fabricated at *Lyons* ; in all sorts of Grain, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, has sufficient Resources for Commerce, which never can fail her. I must confess, that since the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, over which we ought to draw a Veil, as the most unlucky Event in the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* I must confess, I say, that many of our Manufactures are naturalized in foreign Countries. But there are still enough left in the Kingdom, if they were well managed, both to employ its Inhabitants, and to enrich them. All that we ought to fear is Remissness, bad Working, and, if I may dare to speak out, a Spirit of Fraud

Fraud and Deceit, for we ought not to flatter ourselves, that through the wise Rules, and from the Authority of many Royal Ordinances, which direct the Observations of those Rules, our Manufactures are no longer subject to these three sorts of Revolutions.

From the Time that *Edward* the Third drew over a vast Number of Artizans, who escaped from the excessive Cruelty committed by the *Spaniards* in *Ghent*, *Louvaine*, and other Cities of *Brabant*, and made use of them for establishing in *England* Woollen Manufactures; these Manufactures have never degenerated, have never lost their Credit, or Reputation. They are still on the same foot, and furnish fine Cloths of all Colours, with which the *English* carry on a prodigious Trade, as well in *Germany*, by means of the Staple they have established at *Dort*, as in the *Levant*, by the way of *Smyrna*. Heretofore, neither they nor the *Dutch* could approach the Coasts of the Grand Signior's Dominions, but under the Banner of *France*. But, at this Day, they trade there in their own Name, and in their own Right, and one may very safely say, that, in proportion, as their Trade has increased, ours has suffered by many Losses, Bankruptcies, and other Causes of Declension, that many very much question whether it will ever be able to recover its antient Lustre.

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The Voyages of which I have been hitherto speaking, even such as carry us to the very Extremities of *Europe*, merit only a cursory Attention. The true Commerce by Sea, is that which embraces the other three Parts of the Globe, that which requires the whole Force and Skill of the Nautic Art. As the Dangers therein are greater, and the Risks run more than ordinary, so its Profits are also very considerable. And it's thence that we derive so many shining Fortunes, acquired by lawful Means, and which ought never to be confounded with those hastily raised, and odious Estates drawn out of the Miseries of the People, and tinctured, if I may so say, with their Blood.

Almost all the Nations of *Europe* carry on, at this day, some Commerce either with *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, but we are not to conceive from thence, that this renders them all equal. Though the *Portuguese* are very justly considered as the Restorers of the Marine, and of Navigation, as having heretofore great Territories in *Asia*, insomuch, that several *Arab* Kings were in their Pay, and many *Pagan* Princes thought themselves honoured by the Commands of these new Masters, their Authority, however, is now but the Shadow, and their Power but the Skeleton of what it was. They support themselves on the Remains of their old Reputation, which Time has almost worne out;
and

and *Goa* itself is no longer known, but for its terrible Inquisition, that horrible Tribunal¹, where no Forms of Justice are observed, and where natural Equity never finds a Place in their Decrees. The *Hollanders*, at present, are the great Masters of the Commerce of the *East Indies*, which they manage with infinite Address, mingling Complaisance with a Spirit of Dominion, and having equally Recourse to Artifice and Force. An antient Writer wished, that Arms were always subject to the Gown; at *Batavia*, and in the rest of the *Dutch Colonies*, they are both subject to Trade.

All the World knows, that the best Part of *America* belongs to the *Spaniards*: I must confess, I am a little in the dark as to their Title, (nor can I positively say, whether the ill Usage they have given the Natives, and the many Thousands of their Throats they

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have

¹ The History of this Inquisition was written by a *Physician*, who had proved not its salutary, but its unjust Rigours. Happy *France*, to have looked always with Horror on a Tribunal which has so much discredited and rendered so odious the Christian Name! More happy still, if the Priests don't, some how or other, find means to introduce it under another Name!

“ The *Physician* mentioned above, was one Mr. *Dellon*, and a very good Book his is, but the best that I have ever seen on the Subject, and that which deserves to be read by every curious Person, is the *Memoires Historiques pour servir a l'Histoire des Inquisitions*. A Cologne 1716, 2 vol. 12mo.

have cut, has created them a good one. But this is certain, that their Power is too extensive in itself, too ruinous by the Conduct of their Bishops and Governors, who purchase all their Dignities and Employments, and too much hurt by that fraudulent Spirit of private Gain, which possesses all who reside there, to subsist long. Besides this, their Government grows daily worse and worse, there being little Union between the principal Persons who manage there, and a kind of insensible Usurpation growing up, which the *Spaniards* themselves do not perceive, or, which is worse, affect not to perceive. The principal Fault in the Government of these vast Kingdoms appertaining to the *Spanish* Monarchy, is, that their Orders never arrive in time; and when they do arrive, it is next to an Impossibility to get them executed; two Things which usually cause the Miscarriage of all great Affairs.

Within about half a Century past, the *English* have found the true Method of managing Affairs in *America*, and without which, they will hardly ever succeed; all their Steps in that Country are directed with the utmost Prudence, they search for, and embrace every new Branch of Commerce that Industry can discover, or that Chance presents; they protect and perfect all their old Colonies, and, at the same time, do not

neglect planting new ; in short, they act as if Fortune had reserved for them, some time or other, the entire Dominion of that mighty Country. We are assured that *Cromwel* flattered himself with this, amongst the rest of his Political Visions, and was often wont to say, that he would put out the King of *Spain's* two Eyes, by which he meant *America* and the Inquisition. The first Thought of this was suggested to him by one *Thomas Gage*, a Dominican, who had possess'd considerable Benefices in the *West Indies*, but who, from some Disgust, apostatized on his return to *Europe*. Thoroughly sensible that the Inquisition would make its utmost Efforts to lay their Hands upon him, in order to bury him in the Dungeons of the Holy Office, the Monk thought proper to take Shelter in *England*, and made himself known to *Cromwel*, who loved Men capable of forming vast Projects, and it may be, had a Turn for chimerical Designs ; this is the Foible of all great Minds, who are displeased with common Things, and are never ^m struck but with a certain kind of Extravagance.

^m One finds a Part of *Cromwel's* Character finely delineated in the following Words of *Salust* : *Vastus animus immoderata incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.* i. e. *A vast Mind which always thirsted after Things immoderate, incredible, and above the common Level.*

“ This *Thomas Gage* was certainly, as his Travels
 “ plainly prove, a very silly Fellow, but what our
 “ Author says of his engaging *Cromwel* to undertake
 “ his

travagance. *Cromwel* received greedily whatever *Thomas Gage* told him, concerning the immense Riches which the *Spaniards* possessed in *America*, and the Possibility there was of taking them from them. Pleased with so great an Enterprize, he made it the great Object of his Thoughts, thoroughly sensible, that if he could once accomplish his End, he might consider it as an inexhaustible Fund, and one that would be always new. He speedily equipt a great Fleet, and that with such Secrecy, that neither the *Spaniards*, nor even the *English* themselves, guessed at his Intention. His Design was to have made himself Master of the Island of *Cuba*, and of that of *St. Domingo*, in order to have opened himself thereby an Entrance into the Sea of *Mexico*, and the Means of conquering, by degrees, that great Kingdom; but this Fleet met with contrary Winds, and all the Obstacles, and unforeseen Discouragements, that are capable of disconcerting the best laid Projects. He fail'd not, however, filling all
Europe

“ his *West India* Expedition, is true, but as to most
 “ of the Circumstances he speaks of, he was much
 “ misinformed; the Design itself was very dishonourable, for *Cromwel* had no just Quarrel with the
 “ *Spaniards*; the Secret was so far from being well
 “ kept, that it was talked of, on the *Royal Exchange*,
 “ before the Fleet sailed, and after all, it was the Avarice, and bad Instructions given by *Cromwel*, that
 “ ruined this Affair, as I have shewn at large in the
 “ *Naval History*. As to *Thomas Gage*, he perished at
 “ Sea, in Pursuit of his own Projects.”

Europe with Alarms, and struck its several Potentates with Terror, when they saw what Perils and Dangers they had escaped. *Cromwel*, who knew how to support the most perplexing Turns of ill Fortune, was not at all disconcerted at seeing his Fleet return half ruined, as well as without Success, and withal covered with Shame, on account of the Panic with which they had been seized in making a Descent on *St. Domingo*. He preserved, on the contrary, during his whole Life, a most ardent Desire to make himself Master of *America*, and to drive the *Spaniards* from thence, of whom he was the implacable Enemy, not so much through Policy, or Reason of State, as through Humour and Inclination. This was, as a certain celebrated *English* Historian agrees, his favourite Project, and what Project more proper than that, to possess the Soul of a Man of a Disposition like *Cromwel*! *Lewis XIV.* who very happily knew, and penetrated his Designs, agreed perfectly in this, as appears by one of his Dispatches to the Count *d'Estrades*, in which he says, *That he was a fit Person to accomplish, by a determined Obstinacy, the greatest Things, having a Fleet of 160 Sail, which he had collected during the Disputes with the Dutch, and having since augmented his Naval Force far beyond the Extent it had ever reach'd under any of the Kings of England.*

Since

Since the Time of *Cromwel*, whom we must needs admire, even while we blame him, the Nation, whom he first taught to cultivate her Marine, has never abandoned that Design. The *English* have alone, at this Day, more Ships in *America*, and more Ships of their own Building there, than all other Nations put together. They carry on a Trade in all Sorts of Commodities from all the Countries of *Europe*; they deal, even in those of *France*, cheaper, and sell them in better Condition than the *French* themselves. They sell likewise Wooden Houses, the several Parts of which are marked and numbered, so that nothing more is requisite than to set them up. Sir *William Temple*, one of the greatest Politicians that *England* ever had, observes, in his *Considerations of the State of the United Provinces, &c.* That in his Time, more Ships sailed from the Ports of *Holland*, than from those in all *Europe* besides. Things are much changed since then. The *English* have, at present, the Superiority of the Sea, the Empire of which they openly ⁿ claim.

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ⁿ To be convinced of the Truth of what I say, it will suffice to cast an Eye on the present System of Affairs in *Europe*: What Power, what Authority, have not the *English* sustained, by their Maritime Power acquired? *Navigacionis peritiæ* (says one of their own Writers) *debetur illud quod sibi vindicat Britannia, Oceani imperium, nec ulla gens a Littoribus nostris tam remota est, quam non ab injuriâ nostris hominibus inferendâ, deterreat armata Britannica Classis.*

In regard to the *French*, they have, at all Times, carried on some Commerce beyond the Bounds of *Europe*, and with the other three Parts of the World. The Spirit of Discovery has not been wanting to them. Before *Christopher Columbus* set Foot in the Island of *Guanahami*, one of the *Lucayes*, and the first of his Conquests in *America*, *John de Bethencourt*, Chamberlain to *Charles VI.* and Cousin to the Admiral of *France*, had already reduced, under his Power, the *Canaries*, where he caused the Title of King to be given him, with the Permission of the Holy See. The Popes, full of insupportable Pride, disposed, at that Time, of Crowns, as if they had been their proper Goods; and the Gift they were pleased to make, of all *America* to the *Spaniards*, appeared a Title authentick enough to these last, to justify their seizing it.

Encouraged by the Example of *Bethencourt*, the richest Merchants in *Normandy* made Expeditions to the Coast of *Africk*, where they established Factories and Magazines, which subsist, at this Day, in pretty near their Original Condition. On the other Side, the rapid Success of the *Spaniards* in *America*, made too much Noise not to excite the Jealousy of the *French*. Several Gentlemen without Employments, and without Occupations in the Maritime Provinces, fitted out Privateers to cruize upon the *Spaniards*,

niards, and pillaged their Vessels, which, too richly, and too heavily loaden, but badly defended themselves, and were obliged to abandon a Part of their Effects, in order to save the rest. *John de Laët* freely acknowledges, in his Description of the *New World*, that there was hardly any *Spanish* Pilot, who had not been a Prisoner in *France*. Others, who are still bolder, attempted new Discoveries, principally *North America*. But the Colonies they founded, without taking, beforehand, proper Precautions, have suffered excessively, as well by the *Savages*, whose Bravery consists in treacherous Surprizes, as through the Negligence of *France*, in not sending them timely Succours. Some few of these Colonies we have yet preserved in our own Hands, the rest are fallen into those of the *English*, who are too Wise, and too Powerful, ever to suffer us to make ourselves Masters of any of theirs.

It is said, that the *French*, from Time immemorial, have carried on some Sort of Commerce without the Bounds of *Europe*, and with the other three Parts of the World. But then this Commerce has not been always of equal Extent, or carried on with the same Vigour; on the contrary, it hath suffered various Interruptions, especially since it hath been put into the Hands of particular Companies, who are never acquainted with their true Interest, but waste where they ought

to be saving, and affect a mighty Frugality, where a more generous Conduct is necessary. In my Opinion, all these restrictive Companies have three Faults essential and inseparable. The first is, that they would reap at the very same Time they sow, without waiting the ° favourable Season, and without considering that the best Fruits are those which ripen slowly. What Folly? The Funds destined to Foreign Trade, ought to be sunk for a certain Time, and we ought to add the Interest to the Capital, in order to lay the more solid Foundation, and to remedy the first Necessities, which are always the strongest, and the most troublesome. But the *French* are ever in a Hurry to enjoy, and know not how to sacrifice, to a distant and more considerable Interest, a present Advantage, let it be ever so small. Hence it comes to pass, that they are easily check'd, and that, by a base Sort of Cowardice, they abandon,

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° The History of the Commerce of the *French*, in the different Regions of *Africk*, *Asia*, and *America*, is, more properly speaking, a History of their Levities, and Acts of Imprudence. This is what is acknowledged by M. *Colbert*, in a Memorial drawn by his own Hand, which I have happily by me. Besides the Inquietude and Vanity natural to our Nation, he reproaches them, still farther, with Infidelity, and a settled Inclination to act in a bad Way, in order to obtain large Profits, and unlawful Advantages. He adds, that the little Obedience, the small Respect and Subordination of Inferiors to such as are placed over them, and, in a word, the Want of Union amongst all, as proper Parts of our Character.

in the Execution, Projects the best concerted in the Closet ; they grow tired when they ought to renew their Courage, and impatient when nothing but Calmness and Prudence could bring their Affairs to bear.

From this first Fault springs a second, which is, that, in order to gain the more; they import, without any Reflection, greater Quantities of Goods from foreign Countries, than the Kingdom is able to consume, which is the sure way to spoil all Trade. The Publick, that knows not how to place properly its Esteem, or its Contempt, ought to be managed with the utmost Address, and Care ought to be taken never to cram it, or to keep it too hungry.

The last and greatest Fault is this, that the particular and private Advantages of such Companies incline them, generally speaking, to sacrifice all Concern for the Publick Welfare, and the Balance of Trade, with respect to the Nation. Such as are placed at the Head of them, not so much on account of their Abilities, as by the means of their Interests and Intrigues, entrust not only the first Employes in their Colonies, but even the Command of their Vessels to their Relations and Dependants, and too often, which is the highest Species of Corruption, to those from whom they privately receive Pensions. Thus *all things go backwards*, to make use of the Expression of the Marshal *de Montluc*. And the

the ill-governed Company impoverishes itself by repeated Negligences, or by private or fraudulent Profits, diverted from its principal Members. The rest of the Proprietors dare not question these Transactions, much less demand any Account from their Directors; *For such*, says the Cardinal de Richlieu, *is the Weakness of our Age, that even those who are at the Head of the State, are no better than illustrious Thieves, who, instead of being guided by Justice, have, in almost all Transactions, no other View, than that of Interest or Favour.*

But why should I recal the Memory of what is so mortifying, and so disagreeable? Ought we not rather to felicitate ourselves on things having taken a new turn in *France*, and being established there on a better foot? And I doubt not but the sad Experience we have of what passed in former Times, will render us more attentive, and more cautious for the future. That which, at this day, they call the *Company of the Indies*, has swallowed up all the rest, which were fallen into a languishing State, and even into a kind of Extinction, at the Time of the Demise of *Lewis XIV.* They had no longer any Resources, any Ships, or any Reputation left in foreign Countries, and all that Activity of Genius, all that Fire and Spirit, upon which the Success of great Affairs depends, was intirely evaporated. I must confess, that the
new

new Company has none of these Faults, and that it seems to be fixed upon solid Foundations. But ought we not to fear, that by embracing, as it does, too extensive a Commerce, by degrading the Classes of the Kingdom, already too much enfeebled, by employing, without Choice, all sorts of People, it may not, in time, become subject to the same Fate which attended all the old Companies?

All that I have been hitherto saying, in relation to Maritime Power and Commerce, tends only to convince us of their Advantages and Utility. But as the strongest Reasonings always need the Support of Examples, I would mention a few of those which, in regard to this Matter, have struck me most. One sees to what degree of Power and Authority certain Cities are risen, through their Commerce by Sea. One sees, that, in the Places where this is carried on with Spirit, all things abound, Wealth, Neatness, Conveniencies, and even Pleasures. The very best Wines of *Bordeaux*, *Champaigne*, and *Burgundy*, that are drank at this Day, are those we meet with at *Amsterdam*, at *London*, or at *Hamburgh*. As they cannot be exported but at a very great Expence, and as the Customs upon *French* Wine are every where grown to an extravagant Height, foreign Merchants never meddle with those of a middle sort, or that are in any danger
of

of spoiling ; but purchase, through a just Oeconomy, the best Growths, and the most exquisite. If it be true, as *Cicero* remarks, that *nulla sunt privata natura*, i. e. Nature designs nothing for private Use ; it must be acknowledged that, through Commerce, all things become the Property of Man, all things belong to him, Manufactures, Arts, a Series of curious Researches, supply what Nature seems to refuse.

I. The Antients speak of *Alexandria* as of the City in the World to which Trade had done the greatest Honour. “ Nothing, says “ *Strabo*, could approach her Splendor, or “ her Magnificence ; nothing could equal “ the Conveniency of her Port, or the Beauty of the Houses, or the Number of her “ Inhabitants. All the Riches of *Asia* and “ *Africa* were brought thither by the *Red* “ *Sea*, and by the *Nile*, were heap’d, as it “ were, one upon another, till the Store- “ Houses and Magazines were crouded ; all “ *Europe* had need of her Merchandize, “ and went thither to fetch it at exhorbitant “ Prices.” The *Ptolomies* knew perfectly well how to benefit themselves by the Situation of *Alexandria* ; and the second of those Princes, who had the Sirname of *Philadelphus*, swelled his Revenues to near 9,000,000 Millions of Gold. The *Romans* made still more of this Commerce, when, after the Defeat

feat of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, they became absolute Masters of *Egypt*. The Abundance and Fertility of this vast Country, especially in all sorts of Corn, made them regard it as the Magazine of *Italy*, and the Key of *Rome*; and we are shewn, to this Day, Medals, in which the City of *Alexandria* is represented, under the Figure of a Woman veiled, with a Handful of ripe Ears of Corn.

It is inconceivable what an infinite Number of Ships were employed in this Corn Trade, one might have seen them continually going to *Egypt* from the Port of *Ostia* in great Squadrons, and others deep laden on their return. These Squadrons consisted generally of fourscore or an hundred Vessels, which sailed together, in order that they might the better defend and succour each other. *Pliny*, speaking of the Expences that they were obliged to be at for equipping and arming these Ships, tells us, that though they rose very high, yet they gained by each Voyage *Cent. per Cent.* so that all who were concerned in this Trade made very hasty Fortunes.

What I have here reported from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, may enable us to judge what Numbers resorted to *Alexandria*, and what Crowds of Strangers came thither from all Parts. Supported by the Laws, they were never vexed with odious Exactions, invented by such as are born to be a Curse to others,

others, they left them at full liberty to buy and sell, provided they paid the ordinary Tribute, the Kings of *Egypt* never granted what the *English* call *Monopolies*, which are, in truth, Privileges to particular Persons, to prejudice the People with Impunity; all the Strangers who resided at *Alexandria*, had their separate Quarter, where they enjoyed their Privileges, Immunities, and the free Exercise of their Religion, provided always, that there was nothing in their Religions incommodious or dangerous to the publick Peace. By these happy Rules, *Alexandria* ceased to be a private City, she became the Habitation of all Nations, and, as it were, the Country of Mankind.

II. In the middle Age of the *German* Empire, that is to say, in the midst of the thirteenth Century, there was formed a Confederacy of many Maritime Cities, or, at least, Cities not far from the Sea, under the Title of the *German Hanse*. This Confederacy solely regarded Commerce, which they endeavoured to promote and extend, by interesting therein a great Number of Persons, and endeavouring to profit by their different Views, and different Lights. Though the Cities of *Germany* held the principal Rank in the *Teutonic Hanse*, they did not, however, forbear associating many other Cities, as well in *France* as in *England*

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and the *Low Countries*; the whole, however, without hurting the Authority, without Prejudice to the Rights of the Sovereign on whom they depended. This Confederacy had its Laws, its Ordinances, and its Judgments, which were observed with the same respect as the Maritime Code of the *Rhodians*, who passing for the ablest Seamen in all Antiquity, their Constitutions were observed by the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

The *Teutonic Hanse* grew, in a short time, to so high a Rank in Power and Authority, by the immense Riches it acquired, that Princes themselves render'd it a sincere Homage from Principles of Esteem and Admiration. Those of the North principally had frequent occasion for their Credit, and borrow'd of them considerable Sums. The Grand Masters of the *Teutonic Order*, who were, at that time, Sovereigns of *Livonia*, declared themselves Conservators of the Rights and Privileges of the Hanse, all succeeded not only to, but beyond their Wishes; and *Germany*, charm'd with their Progress, look'd on them with the same Eyes, as a curious Gardiner does on certain rare Plants, though of his own Raising and Culture. The Kings of *France* granted also various Privileges to the *Teutonic Confederacy*, they exempted their Vessels, in case of Shipwreck, from all Demands whatsoever from the Admiralty, or from private Persons; they for-
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bid any Disturbance to their Navigation at all Times, and even when *France* was at War with the Emperor, or the Princes of the North. In fine, during the Course of those unhappy Wars, which were stiled *Croisades*, the *Hanse* was signally consulted, and gave always puissant Succours in Money, and in Ships, to the Christians oppressed by Infidels.

It is astonishing, that Cities at so great a Distance from each other, subject to different Kings, sometimes in open War, but always jealous of their Rights, it is, I say, very astonishing, that these Cities should be able to confederate and live together in so strict a Union. They supported equally their common Losses, and, in like manner, their Profits were equally divided. But, at last, the *Teutonic Hanse* fell by little and little, and out of its Ruins rose almost all the trading Companies that are at this Day scatter'd throughout *Europe*. It is true, indeed, that there are yet some Cities in *Germany* that stile themselves *Hanseatick*. But they have separate Interests, and the old Union remains no longer amongst them. It appears, however, that, in spite of their Jealousy, they all resort to *Lubec*, and regard that City as the first of the *Hanse Towns*.

III. Before the *Portuguese* had doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, all the Commerce between

tween *Europe* and *Turky*, *Persia*, *Tartary*, *China*, and the *East Indies*, was carried on solely by *Venice*, which was the common Magazine to them all. All the World, in that great Mart, took their Share in so lucrative a Commerce; the Nobility, without debasing, the Citizens that they might raise themselves, and become considerable; and this it was that render'd *Venice* so powerful, and, at the same time, so fierce, so conceited of her own Strength, and so full of Contempt towards her Neighbours, even though they were Sovereigns. They threaten'd her a long time, and they at last agreed to attack her all at once, and on all Sides. But she defended herself alone, and by her own proper Force, against the Empire, the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, and almost all the Princes of *Italy*, who had sworn her Ruin. Never was there seen so many Troops united on one Side, or so much Courage and Firmness on the other. But since the Navigation to the *Indies* has been opened, and People have dared to traverse those vast Seas, the *Venetians* have been depriv'd of all the mighty Hopes with which they flatter'd themselves. But her good Conduct, her Address, her Policy, ingenious in the Management of all things, and in foreseeing all things, are still her's, and she surmounts, without Pain, the greatest Obstacles, and
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supports herself, though less rich, in as great Dignity as ever.

IV. The City of *Amsterdam* seems, at this Day, to have succeeded *Alexandria*, and *Venice*, in the Extent of its Commerce. Though it produces nothing of its proper Growth, and though, as *Grotius* says, the four Elements seem there not to have reached Maturity, yet Industry not only supplies whatever is wanting, but whatever can be wished for. There is not, in the whole World, a City richer, or more abundant; there are no Productions of Nature, no Works of Art, no Merchandize of any Country whatever, no Drugs proper either for Physick or Dying, no Singularities of Physick or Chemistry, nor so much as those curious Trifles which whimsical People are fond of, but what are to be met with in their Magazines. And so far is every one from having there a Right to hoist his Goods to what Rate he pleases, that, on the contrary, all are obliged to sell according to a general Tariff, which fixes the Price of every Commodity pretty near its real Value; the true Equation of Commerce, to use, for once, the Phrase of Geometricians, is the Plenty or Want of what is offered to the Publick, multiplied by the Need there is of it, or the Demand there is made for it. In all Cases, the more Buyers of any Commodity or Merchandize
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whatever, there are, the more that kind of Goods or Merchandize grows into Credit, and the higher it rises in its Price. But one ought to have a constant Eye on the Market, and to endeavour, by all means, to prevent the Quantity of such Goods or Merchandize from being augmented beyond its proper Standard, in which Case the Demand must necessarily be weakened, and the Value of the Goods decreased. The Aim of a wise and well regulated Commerce, is to conduct Things so as that there may be always a greater Number of Buyers, than of the Quantity of Goods, in order to keep up their Credit, and prevent their Market from being over-stock'd.

I will add here, one of the Wonders of *Amsterdam*, which is this, that, even in the Bosom of Oppulence, Luxury is a Thing unknown, I mean, that Sort of Luxury which consists in braving our Fellow Citizens, by dazzling their Eyes with a vain Ostentation of Riches ill employ'd. Magnificence is there reserved for the publick Buildings, a private Man is content if his Dwelling be agreeable and commodious. The Magistrates have there no swelling Train to set off their Authority, but take Care to distinguish themselves by their Probity.

The Father has never the foolish Pride of placing his Sons in such a Rank as they shall scarce deign to own him for their Parent. In a word, no body blushes there, at his being

ing in the same Condition, and of the same Trade with his Ancestors. Hence it is that their Alliances, Correspondencies, Secrets, and their solid Fortunes, are perpetuated, and Commerce, as it raised Families, continues to support them, if it does not raise them still higher, by an Augmentation of their Riches.

V. But that which ought to be regarded, as the Perfection of Art, and as the greatest Wonder of its kind, is the City of *Ormuz*, built in the Entrance of the *Persic Gulph*. Fresh Water, which is so necessary to all the Affairs of Human Life, is there absolutely wanting; one sees, in its Neighbourhood, neither Fountain nor River, to fertilize the Country, neither grow there any Trees capable of affording Shade, or defending from the Inclemency of the Weather; there the Soil appears to be no other than a Heap of Salt and Sulphur, with which the Air is impregnated, and rendered thereby excessively acrid, and injurious to Health; in one word, all Things are parched there with continual Burning, and which is still worse, there is nothing either to temper this Excess of Heat, or to defend one from it. Yet, with all these Inconveniencies, this City is one of the most opulent, and one of the most delicious Places in the World, and is, in a manner, the Centre of those Pleasures which the *Asiatic* Taste,

Taste, and a warm Climate, render but too poignant. It is easy to apprehend, that this can come from nothing but its Situation, which renders it, if I may so speak, the Magazine, and common Asylum of all the Merchants of the East. They come thither in Crowds at certain Months of the Year, with their Factors and other Servants, as well to make up their old Accounts, as to enter into new Contracts; and in this Conflict of Projects and Idea's, amongst such a Concourse of People of all Ranks, Pleasures cannot be wanting, as well to recompense past Labours, as to encourage the Prosecution of such as are to come.

At the approach of the Season, when these Merchants are to repair to *Ormus*, the City, as it were, entirely changes her Face. All the Streets are covered with Tents impenetrable to the Sun, they adorn the Outside of their Houses with Cabinets of China, and with beautiful Paintings, so that a charming Verdure strikes the Sight wherever the Eye is turned. Camels arrive continually, laden with fresh Water and Provisions for the Table, with all the Refinements of good Chear, and all the Delicacies of the East collected for this Purpose. Besides all this, the Mountebanks, Strolling Players and Jugglers, with which all *Asia* abounds, resort hither in Shoals, as to their best Market. In fine, nothing is wanting to furnish out
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that captivating Train which always attends on Pleasure, and which, by varying its Appearance, and assuming every Day an Air of Novelty, absolutely hinders our being either weary or disgusted.

When a Country, in spite of Nature, which seems to have forgot it, endeavours by the help of Art, to indemnify herself, that sort of Opulence almost always succeeds, and with how much greater Taste and Sagacity this is managed, so much the more lively and pleasant it appears. The reason of this is, that such as go to a vast Distance, in order to purchase Commodities, or Merchandize, of which their Country stands in need, and which, they flatter themselves, will come to a good Market, always chuse the best, let it cost what it will. For the Expence of Carriage, whether by Land or Water, being the same, the Risque and Danger of the Voyage in a manner equal, the first Price is, at the bottom, but a very inconsiderable Part of the accumulated Value. Of this I will produce a singular Instance. It is reported, that *Leo X.* *Charles V.* *Francis I.* and *Henry VIII.* had each his House at *Ay*, in *Champaign*, or, at least, in the Neighbourhood, in order to make their Provisions of Wine with the greater Delicacy. This Concern did not appear to them incompatible, either with the Cares of Government, the serious Affairs

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they had to manage, or with the Dignity of Religion and the Throne. But I persuade myself, that *Francis I.* though he had as strong a Passion for Pleasures, and understood them as well as the Pope, the Emperor, or the King of *England*, was the worst served of them all. Strangers know not only better than we the principal Productions of the Kingdom, but they know how to make them better, in a degree superior to what we do ourselves. Hence it is that they frequently send us back our own Commodities, heighten'd by their Improvements; and what ought to surprize us most is, that, thus disguised, they acquire a new Merit, even in our Eyes. The *French*, in general, are wanting to themselves. They are touched only by agreeable Arts, such as flatter, at the same time, the r Indolence, and their Love of Pleasure. As to the rest, they neither profit by the Fertility of the Soil, the Abundance of their Mines, the vast Extent of their Forests, or the Facility with which Canals might be drawn, so as to unite the different Rivers that water the Kingdom.

But that in which we appear to be most shamefully wanting to ourselves, is the Choice of Men, in distinguishing their Talents and their Genii, and in applying them to the Tasks for which they are most fit. All *France* swarms, and is every where overrun with idle People; and this Idleness is every Day the Source of the greatest Excesses.

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Besides, Money is the sole thing that moves, or can bring about any thing at this Day; without that, there is no coming at a Place of any Distinction, and one must be content to languish in Obscurity, if one has not wherewith to purchase Rank in the Army, at the Bar, or even in the Court itself. Hence it is, that those that occupy the greatest Posts become them so ill, and appear at once great, and little, in the Eyes of the People; but when these Posts become vacant, there is a mighty Stir about filling them; and at last, the Publick is always surpriz'd to see Folks jump into them, whose Names never enter'd their Heads.



F I N I S.



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